ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRIBAL CHANGE

Edited by
AUDREY I. RICHARDS

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRIBAL CHANGE

ASSIMILATED IMMIGRANT

Plate I. Ruanda immigrant settled ten years in Buganda who has adopted Ganda dress and become the steward of a Ganda land-owner. Cf. page 181.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND TRIBAL CHANGE

A Study of Immigrant Labour in Buganda

Edited by

AUDREY I. RICHARDS

Contributors

J. M. Fortt
P. Powesland
A. B. Mukwaya
A. I. Richards
A. W. Southall

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All photographs in this book were taken by A. I. Richards.

INTRODUCTION

History of the Project.

This report contains the results of a study of immigrant labour in Uganda carried out by the East African Institute of Social Research during 1950 and 1951 at the request of the Government of Uganda.

Proposals for such a study were made in the first instance by Dr. W. H. Stanner, the first Director of the Institute, who gave a high priority to this investigation in a programme of research which he prepared for the Colonial Social Science Research Council in 1949.[1] The inquiry, as he then envisaged it, was to be entirely concentrated on the migration of men and women from Ruanda-Urundi—the so-called Banyaruanda[2]—into Uganda since the health and general conditions of the labour coming from Belgian territories had long given concern to their own Governments as well as to that of Uganda. Dr. Stanner's proposed investigation was planned on a large scale. It was to last three to five years and to be carried out by a staff of two full-time anthropologists, one agricultural scientist, one economist, three medical research workers, one demographer and a director and editor of the joint report that was to be produced.

Dr. Stanner was not able to put his proposals into effect owing to his resignation at the end of the year but, at the request of the Uganda Government, he returned to the Protectorate in March, 1950, in company with Professor I. Schapera to draw up a more modest scheme for a preliminary investigation into the economic and social effects of the migration of Ruanda. These two anthropologists recommended that the Government should organise a two-year inquiry into the problem, and that it should consist of three parts:

(*a*) an analysis of existing statistics dealing with the extent of immigration of Ruanda into Uganda and their settlement in the Protectorate;

(*b*) a history of migration from Ruanda-Urundi from the beginning of the century to the present day, to be undertaken by an economic historian;

(*c*) sociological studies of the effects of the absorption of migrants from Ruanda-Urundi into different tribal areas of Uganda, to be carried out by two anthropologists who were to work in South Uganda, i.e. in Buganda and Busoga.[3]

The first part of the inquiry was initiated by the Government of Uganda in April, 1950, when Mr. and Mrs. Sofer (Miss Ross), Colonial Social Research Fellows, who later became members of the staff of the

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[1] Stencilled report circulated by the Colonial Office.

[2] Referred to throughout this report as Ruanda, the inhabitants of Ruanda and Rundi, the inhabitants of Urundi and parts of neighbouring areas of Tanganyika.

[3] Report by I. Schapera and W. H. Stanner in the Secretariat, Entebbe, 1950.

Institute, were lent to the Government for the purpose. Mr. and Mrs. Sofer visited Nairobi and were able to use the schedules of the 1948 census through the kindness of Mr. C. J. Martin, Director of the East African Statistical Department, and they examined documents of Government Departments in Uganda, particularly those of the Labour and Public Works Departments. The Sofers also visited migrant labour camps at Masaka, Kyaka Ferry, Mbarara and Kabale to examine the method of enumerating migrants and to consult local authorities. They completed their report in two months in May, 1950.[1] It has not been possible to print this report in full, since it deals with only one type of immigration, that from Ruanda-Urundi, whereas the present report has been extended to include the migration from other sources such as the Sudan, Kenya and Tanganyika. However, much of the material has been incorporated in this report. Its most important contributions are (*a*) a description of the main routes into Uganda, which has been used in the drafting of Chapter III; (*b*) the first estimate of the degree of permanent settlement of immigrants from Ruanda-Urundi in Uganda, which the Sofers deduced chiefly by an analysis of the male-female ratio and age composition of immigrant populations in different countries, as revealed by the census; (*c*) a picture of the different migration patterns of Ruanda and Rundi,[2] who had previously been treated as one ethnic group in literature; and (*d*) an analysis of the validity of the methods used in keeping statistics of migratory labour during the last half-century. This material has been used in Appendix A.

The second study recommended by the Schapera-Stanner report—the history of the migration into Uganda—was entrusted to Mr. P. G. Powesland, a member of the Social Studies Department of Makerere College, who began work in January, 1951. Powesland analysed the relevant documents in the archives of the Secretariat at Entebbe, which were largely unsorted at the beginning of his inquiry, and examined the reports of the Labour and other Government Departments. He also visited migrant labour camps at Masaka, Mbarara and Kabale in Uganda, and travelled to Kigali, Astrida and Usumbura in Ruanda-Urundi in order to get additional data on the movement of labourers from official sources. The final results of Powesland's work are not yet available, since he has further data to collect in Uganda and Tanganyika and he wishes also to examine official documents in Brussels during the coming months. We are grateful to him for providing the preliminary chronological outline of the history of a half-century of immigration into Uganda which appears in this work. His full material will probably be published in a separate monograph later.

In the spring of 1950 the editor of the present volume was appointed

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[1] Stencilled report circulated by the Colonial Office.

[2] Rundi inhabit the southern part of Ruanda-Urundi and also parts of Tanganyika. They are commonly grouped with the Ruanda as "Banyaruanda" or "the people of Ruanda."

Director of the East African Institute of Social Research in succession to Dr. Stanner and, at the request of the Government of Uganda, the Institute undertook to carry out the third part of the inquiry recommended by Schapera and Stanner, namely the sociological studies of the process of assimilation of immigrants into the society of the peoples of Uganda, as well as additional demographic or other investigations thought necessary to complete the work. The Institute also undertook to edit the whole report.

A steering committee composed of representatives of the Administration, the Agriculture and Labour Departments and the Director of the Institute met in July, 1950, and agreed that the full work should consist of two main tasks:

(*a*) *An analysis of the flow of migrants through two sample labour camps*—Kabale and Kyaka Ferry—where data would be collected on the age, sex, tribe, marital status, occupation, motives for travel and number of visits of the immigrants—a project originally recommended in the Sofers' report.

This work was carried out by Mr. B. M. Ganafa, who was lent by the Labour Department for the purpose, under the supervision of the Director of the Institute, at Kabale camp (October and November, 1950) and Kyaka Ferry (January and February, 1951). Ganafa had no previous training in survey work of this kind, but showed great perseverance and resource in selecting the random sample according to instructions and in interviewing the migrants. The data were afterwards analysed by the Sofers, and form the source of most of the material given in Chapter III and the tables given in Appendix B.

(*b*) *Surveys of Sample Villages.*—It was also agreed that anthropologists on the staff of the Institute should carry out village surveys in sample areas to ascertain types of settlement, forms of employment—whether as wage labour or land holders—together with the reactions of the inhabitants to the immigrants and the degree to which the latter had managed to secure incorporation in local society.

In planning these surveys it was decided to make two departures from the original Schapera-Stanner report. These were, first, to limit the study to Buganda, the main area of settlement of Ruanda and Rundi, the largest group of immigrants; and secondly, to extend the scope of the inquiry to include the study of all types of immigrants into Buganda, and not only those from Ruanda-Urundi. This was done because the census shows that there is no district of Buganda in which the immigrants come from one tribe only. In the village surveys subsequently carried out, it can be seen that men and women of 11 different tribes were found in the sample villages of Busiro; 6 in the selected community in Kyagwe; and 8 in those chosen in Buddu. (See Appendix C.) In fact, one of the interesting features of the movement of peoples into Buganda is the extremely wide area from which immigrants come and the different methods by which they are incorporated. An artificial limitation of the study to one group of immigrants only would have reduced much of the value of the survey.

All these immigrants are grouped together under the heading of foreigners (*abanamawanga*) in the tax registers and are described by the Ganda themselves as porters[1] (*abapakasi*). Members of different tribes have different reputations as workers and they follow different immigration patterns, but the problem to the Ganda is the supply of unskilled labour in general, rather than the supply of immigrants from one area. To them it is a question of porter-shortage and not of Ruanda-shortage.

Seven sample villages were finally selected in three counties in Buganda. These villages were chosen mainly on the basis of the proportion of immigrants to the local population and the type of immigrant, e.g. from the north-west, the south-west or the east.

The field investigations were carried out by the editor assisted by Miss J. M. Fortt and Mr. A. B. Mukwaya, members of the Institute staff. Other members of the staff, Mr. J. W. Tyler and Mr. A. W. Southall also helped, the former in the Seseriba and Musisi surveys and the latter in that carried out in Mabanga. The statistical data were computed by Fortt and Mukwaya. The data collected form the basis of the last part of the book (Chapters V–IX) and the statistical results of the village surveys are given in Appendix C.

Field studies in villages from which migrants come to visit Buganda would have formed a very valuable addition to this investigation, particularly on the subject of motives for travel. It was not possible to carry out such field studies in Ruanda-Urundi, but Southall, then working amongst the Alur in the West Nile Province of Uganda, was able to contribute data of this sort. He also made a special study of a community of Alur living in Mabanga village in Buganda. The results are published separately in Chapter VI since this is the only group of migrants for which we have data both on living conditions in the home area and on those in Buganda.

Mr. J. Middleton has made similar studies in the case of the Lugbara and this material will be published shortly.

Work on the geographical distribution of immigrants in Buganda was undertaken by Fortt originally because it was necessary to make a new analysis of the census, since the Sofers' report dealt with a larger area than that covered in the present work, i.e. Uganda as a whole in distinction from Buganda, and it was limited to migrants belonging to a special ethnic group, i.e. those from Ruanda-Urundi, instead of those coming from all tribal areas. Fortt, however, developed the work far beyond this point by constructing a population map for Buganda based on the 1948 census and a further map showing the distribution of immigrants in each county. She analysed population changes which took place between the 1931 and 1948 censuses and the geographical factors affecting this distribution. This material was obtained not only from the relevant documents but also by consulting 20 county chiefs as to local changes in population. The resulting material is contained in Chapter IV.

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[1] A word which first became current when unskilled labourers were mainly used as head porters.

An analysis of legal cases in two districts (contained in Chapter VII) was made by Mukwaya whose knowledge of Luganda and Ganda custom enabled him to complete this work in a period of time which would have been quite impossible for any other member of the staff of the Institute.

The investigation was planned by the editor who also drafted several sections of the report, but the credit for the collection of the data belongs to many members of the Institute staff. In fact it would have been impossible to carry out even a preliminary survey of a problem of this kind in the time if the Institute or some similar body had not existed. Its presence made available the services of several anthropologists who were either members of the staff or associated with it, and who were working in Buganda (Richards), Busoga (Fallers), West Nile District (Middleton and Southall), and in Bukoba, Tanganyika (Reining). These field workers were engaged on theoretical problems of their own choosing[1] but they were able to provide background information on the problem of migration into Buganda as well as concrete data on special points. The administrative staff of the Institute also helped, as has been seen in the organisation of the survey, the tabulation and some of the interviewing.

It has been thought advisable to give a full account of the history of the project because the inquiry was an experiment in using the resources of a local research Institute on the study of a practical problem at the request of a Government. The results seem to show one of the ways in which it is possible to combine the apparently conflicting demands of fundamental and applied research. All the staff mentioned here were working on their own problems but they combined to provide the data requested for this project and most of them found it stimulating to do so.

The survey was mainly financed from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, which gave a five-year grant to the Institute. The salaries of the staff of the Institute were, of course, derived from this grant and they were able to combine work on the survey with other duties. On the recommendation of the Colonial Social Science Research Council a special grant was also given to Powesland to enable him to carry out his work. The Government of Uganda gave grants towards the travel expenses of the Sofers and Powesland, and for the village surveys. It has financed the cost of publishing this report.

The thanks of the Institute are due to many members of the Protectorate Government who gave generous help by way of advice or information. These include Mr. R. W. Gill of the African Affairs Department at the Secretariat, who was handling research matters during most of the time the survey was carried out, and who read and criticised the report. Mr. Birch, then Resident of Buganda, and members of his staff, also read the typescript, and Mr. Bere, Assistant Resident at the time of the planning of the survey, gave useful advice on the selection of areas and other matters. We are also grateful to the District Commissioners who were at Kabale and Masaka at the time of the survey (Sir George Duntze and Mr. G. B. Moss). The Labour Commissioner, Mr. Mathias, gave us constant advice and allowed us the use of unpublished material in his office. The Assistant Labour Commissioner, Mr. M. Byers, was also very helpful to us as well as Mr. R. Black who gave generous aid to all members of the team when they visited Masaka and Kabale and provided maps and other information.

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[1] Mostly on studies of the political structure of the tribes in question.

We are much indebted to members of the Department of Agriculture of Uganda. Mr. R. Kerkham of Kawanda Experimental Station sent us interesting information on the progress of experiments in the mechanisation of agriculture. Mr. J. D. Jameson of the same Station read considerable portions of the report and offered useful criticisms. Major Edwards of the Provincial Agricultural Office, Buganda, carried out the test of the accuracy of estimated size of plots described in the note to Appendix C, and he and Mr. Brown, Provincial Agricultural Officer, gave us useful information.

Dr. J. B. Hutchinson, Director of the Cotton Research Station at Namulonge has given us advice and help, together with Mr. T. H. Manning, whose contribution is referred to in Chapter IV.

Officials of the Buganda Government were invariably helpful and interested. Special thanks are due to the present *Omuwanika*, Mr. L. Mpagi, *Saza* Chief of Busiro, when the survey started; to Mr. B. Mulyanti, *Saza* Chief of Kyagwe; and to Mr. A. Kironde, *Saza* Chief of Buddu. In the selected *gombolola* we had the most ungrudging help from the following chiefs:—Mr. W. P. Tamukede (Mumyuka, Busiro); Mr. N. Nantagya (Mutuba III, Busiro); Mr. M. Lwanga (Mutuba VII, Kyagwe); and Mr. L. Wamala (Musale, Buddu). Last but not least, we are most grateful to the *muruka* chiefs who bore most of the burden of the village surveys by calling council meetings for us and often accompanying us from house to house—Mr. Alamanzari Mukibi (Mutuba IV, Mumyuka, Busiro); Mr. Isiraeri Mugalasi (Sabagabo, Mumyuka, Busiro); Mr. Eriya Kifulukwa (Musale, Mutuba VII, Kyagwe); Mr. Bazil Kyaze (Sabagabo, Mutuba VII, Kyagwe); and Mr. A. Kasujja (Sabawali, Musale, Buddu)—but many other *muruka* chiefs helped us with information and in the analysis of tax registers.

Mr. Ham Mukasa, the source of so much information on the past history of Buganda, gave much useful material which is incorporated in Chapter II and elsewhere in the book.

We are also grateful for assistance in the preparation of the historical section to Monseigneur Kiwanuka, Vicar Apostolic of Masaka Vicariate, and to the Very Reverend Father Lefèvre, and Father Nicolet, all of the White Fathers' Mission. Thanks are also due to Dr. A. C. Stanley Smith of the C.M.S., Ruanda-Urundi.

Valuable assistance in making accessible to us Belgian official reports has also been received from M. L. Delcourt, Directeur du Service des Affaires Indigènes et de la Main-d'Oeuvre.

Professor Kenneth Baker of the Geography Department of Makerere College gave constant help in the preparation of the maps and allowed Fortt the use of his department and the help of Mr. Serubiri, his map assistant.

The revised orthography of Luganda has been used throughout except in the case of titles of laws passed before its adoption. In accordance with modern usage prefixes of tribal names have been omitted so that Baganda is written Ganda.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND THE METHODS

A. I. RICHARDS

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM.

Buganda is one of the most famous of the historic African kingdoms and has a long record of conquest and political development. It lies in the southern part of Uganda along the northern shore of Lake Victoria, and its fertile soil and ample rainfall make it one of the richest parts of Uganda, while opportunities for lake transport and later the use of the railway which runs to Kampala, has long made it the centre of such commercial and industrial development as Uganda has seen. The kingdom of Buganda achieved semi-independent status by the Uganda Agreement of 1900, when the position of its Kabaka or king was safeguarded. The Ganda themselves have the reputation of being one of the most intelligent and advanced peoples of East Africa.

Nevertheless, the publication of the 1948 Census revealed that the population of this ancient kingdom was, in fact, very mixed. The figures for the total area show that there are members of some 21 alien tribes scattered throughout the different districts of Buganda and there are probably many more smaller groups who would themselves claim that they had different ethnic origins. In certain districts of Buganda the foreigners, in fact, outnumber the local inhabitants by a proportion of three to two.

The biggest group of immigrants into Buganda are the men and women from the Belgian mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi and the neighbouring district of Tanganyika, both on the south-west border of Uganda, who pour into this wealthy[1] cotton and coffee producing country whether as temporary labourers or as settlers. These are the files of Africans, mostly in ragged clothing and often with poor physique, who are to be seen walking from the south-west border into the centre of Buganda or crowded into lorries or buses. The number of these travellers has been roughly estimated at 100,000 a year for a number of years.[2] On this influx of "Banyaruanda" there is already a considerable literature. In the past their starving condition and the diseases from which they suffered on their 200–300 miles journey to Uganda made them the subject of a series of Government reports. Their welfare has been discussed at inter-territorial meetings of labour officers from Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika and Uganda. European travellers have commented on their appearance as they walk down the high roads.[1]

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[1] "Wealthy" means throughout wealthy in comparison with other African peasant economies.

[2] *Cf.* Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Labour Situation in the Uganda Protectorate, 1938, para 49. Minutes of Meetings of Labour Officials from Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika and Uganda, 1948. Actual figures are given in Appendix A.

However, there are numbers of other immigrants also appearing in Buganda. They come from the Sudan and the Congo on the north-west border of the Protectorate, travel down Lake Albert by steamer and then by road to sugar plantations and other occupations in southern Uganda. This is the group of peoples known as "Congo" or "Sudani" by the Ganda. Alur and Lugbara from the Belgian territory are joined by members of the same tribes from the Uganda side of the border and also Acholi and Madi from the Northern Province of the Protectorate. These all swell the stream that travels by the northern route and tend to be classified as "West Nile" natives in the labour reports.

Kenya Africans are also apparently attracted by the money-making possibilities in Buganda. Luo and other inhabitants from the Kavirondo district travel by boat or on foot to Buganda and some come from even further afield. These people are often described indiscriminately as "Kavirondo" by the Ganda. Immigrants from some of the poorer tribes in northern Tanganyika also join the influx. Zinza, Ziba[2] and Ha come on foot to the south-west border, or travel tightly packed on the decks of steamers from Bukoba in the Lake Province of Tanganyika to Port Bell near Kampala.

Strangers also come from within Uganda to look for work in the Buganda kingdom. There are not only the West Nile peoples already referred to, but Kiga from Kigezi, Nkole and Nyoro. There are also the immigrants roughly classed as Kedi, a term used to describe travellers from the Eastern Province such as the Dama, the Gishu and kindred tribes. All these from the point of view of the Ganda are "foreigners." The areas from which these people come can be seen on Map 1 which also gives the main travel routes described in detail in Chapter III.

Such migrations are not uncommon in East and South Africa, either in history or at the present day. In fact, at the moment groups of Africans are continually shifting from the overcrowded agricultural areas into less populated ones, just as their forefathers wandered in search of new land in the days before the European

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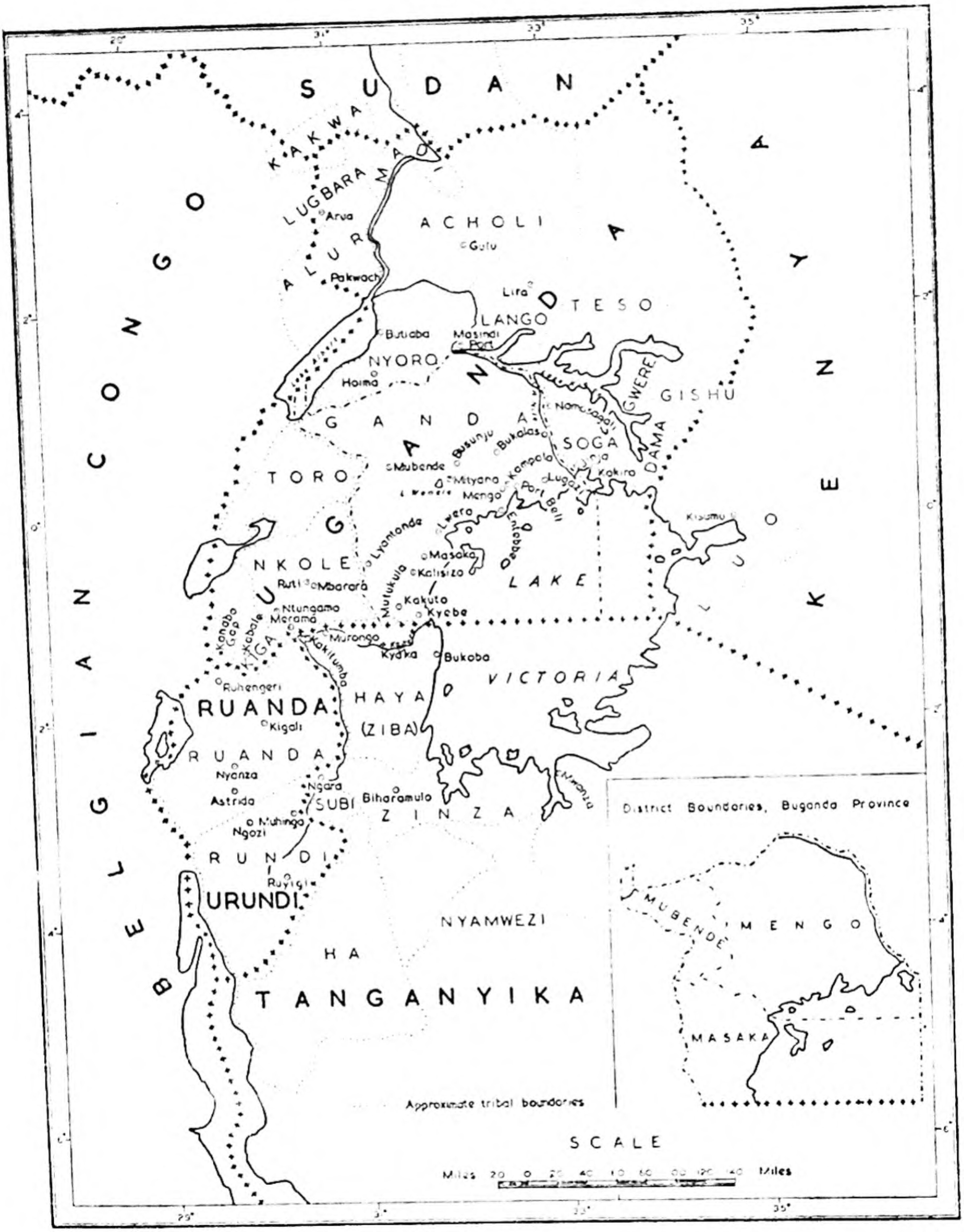
[1] *Cf.* E. Huxley—*The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, 1948, p. 202.

[2] "Ziba" come from a district in Buhaya but are listed separately from the Haya in Labour reports.

MAP 1


SUDAN
KAKWA
MADI
LUGBARA
Arua
ALUR
Pakwach
ACHOLI
Gulu
Lira
LANGO
TESO
Butiaba
Masindi Port
NYORO
Hoima
GANDA
Namasagali
GWERE
GISHU
SOGA
Jinja
DAMA
Kakira
Busunju
Bukalasa
Mubende
Mityana
Kampala
Mengo
Lugazi
Port Bell
TORO
Lwera
Entebbe
Kisumu
LUO
Lyantonde
Masaka
Kalisizo
NKOLE
Ruti
Mbarara
Mutukula
Kakuto
Kyebe
LAKE VICTORIA
Ntungamo
Merama
Kanaba Gap
Kabale
KIGA
Murongo
Kyaka
Kakitumba
Bukoba
Ruhengeri
RUANDA
Kigali
HAYA
(ZIBA)
RUANDA
Nyanza
Astrida
Ngara
SUBI
Biharamulo
ZINZA
Mwanza
Muhinga
Ngozi
RUNDI
Ruyigi
URUNDI
NYAMWEZI
HA
TANGANYIKA
BELGIAN CONGO
UGANDA
KENYA
District Boundaries, Buganda Province
MUBENDE
MENGO
MASAKA
Approximate tribal boundaries
SCALE
Miles 20 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 Miles
29°
31°
33°
35°

J. M. FORTT

THE MIGRATION AREA

occupation. During the last quarter or half-century, many thousands of individual Africans have also moved hundreds of miles, usually on foot, to look for paid work in mines, industry or plantations to satisfy their new needs for money to pay taxes or to buy goods. The spotlight has so far been centred almost entirely on the activities of this latter group—"migratory labourers"—who make periodic visits from their tribal reserves to European-owned industries and mines in the Union and Northern and Southern Rhodesia and, to a lesser extent in Kenya and Tanganyika, where they also go to the European-owned sisal or other plantations. Little study has been made of the slow infiltration of people from one agricultural area to settle in another, such as the movement of the Sukuma in the densely settled parts of the Lake Province of Tanganyika into the surrounding areas. Nor are there many descriptions of the migrations of Africans to get money by working in the peasant agriculture of their richer neighbours rather than in the larger-scale European undertakings.

Buganda provides examples of both these methods of employing foreign labour. Mining in Uganda is limited to the south-western area and there are at present no mining developments in Buganda itself. Until recently industries have been poorly developed and although European and Asian-owned plantations of sugar, coffee and tea have made a considerable contribution to the wealth of the country, the characteristic feature of the economy since the early part of the century has been the successful development of small-scale peasant cultivation of cotton for export, and later the growth of a coffee industry at a peasant level.[1] The success of peasant cultivation makes Uganda differ from many other parts of East Africa. It is responsible for the fact that here, unlike the position in most of Kenya and Tanganyika, the bulk of the immigrants are working for Africans and not for Europeans. In fact the rough estimate of the proportion engaged in these different types of occupation made in 1948[2] showed that 75 per cent. of the immigrants from Ruanda-Urundi were working for African farmers and 25 per cent. in European and Asian undertakings. More recent estimates are discussed in Chapter IV.

Another distinguishing feature of the Buganda situation is the fact that not only has there been in the past considerable land available for the settlement of foreigners, but, unlike most parts of East Africa, there is here an individual system of land-holding. When the famous Uganda Agreement was concluded it was decided by the British authorities to allow freehold title to the land then occupied by persons in positions of high authority, such as the Kabaka, leading members of the royal family, ministers and chiefs, and 1,000 such notables were listed as recipients of land.[1] Most of these formerly held land at the will of the Kabaka but, from then onwards, they acquired permanent individual rights over the territory they were ruling at the time of the Agreement, and were able to sell it to natives of the Protectorate, rent it and pass it on to their heirs as they pleased. From the present point of view the distinctive feature of this system of land distribution was the large size of these original estates which became known as *mailo* estates.[2] In fact eight square miles was commonly allocated as a single estate and the Kabaka, ministers and some of the senior chiefs had several such estates. Although most of these estates were occupied by peasant holders in semi-feudal tenure, changed by subsequent legislation, yet the arrangement made possible the growth of a wealthy land-owning class and it is these who have been the chief employers of immigrant labour. In fact, it is this type of land-holding which has been one of the principal determinants of the method of settlement of the foreigners, as will be seen from the fact that every contributor to this volume finds it necessary to return again and again to a discussion of the *mailo* system.[3] This peculiar economic situation in Buganda makes it an interesting area for study, and one which should throw light on the many experiments in methods of land holding under discussion elsewhere.

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[1] Much of the cotton is still collected from ½ and 1 acre plots.

[2] Minutes of an Inter-territorial Meeting of Labour Officers, 1948.

The main questions to which it is hoped the present inquiry will find some kind of answer are the following:

(*a*) What are the causes of the continuing migration from Ruanda-Urundi and elsewhere into Buganda as far as these can be deduced both from the history of the movement and the analysis of the factors which seem to account for the periodic rise and fall in the numbers of migrants as well as the accounts of the motives for travel given by the foreigners themselves? This material is to be found in Chapters II and III.

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[1] Increased by 1905 to 3,700, *cf.* Thomas and Spencer, "A History of Uganda Law and Surveys," etc., 1938.

[2] Corruption of the English word "mile." These estates have only gradually been surveyed and therefore at any rate in the first instance, their measurement in square miles was only a very approximate one.

[3] The *mailo* system has been frequently described, *cf.* such works as L. P. Mair, "Buganda Land Tenure," *Africa*, Vol. VI, 1933, and "An African People in the Twentieth Century," 1934; C. K. Meek, "Land Law and Custom in Africa," 1946, *cf.* also bibliography. The system as it affects the settlement of foreigners is described in detail in Chapter V *infra*.

(*b*) What makes Buganda so attractive as an area for employment and settlement? The geographic and social features which appear to draw the immigrants are discussed mainly in Chapters IV and V.

(*c*) How are the immigrants employed when they reach Buganda? What is the proportion occupied as agricultural labourers on African farms, as independent peasant cultivators, on European or Asian plantations, in industry, public works or Government service, and are there any recent changes in the pattern of employment of different tribes? The answers to these questions are mainly to be found in Chapter IV.

(*d*) How long do the immigrants tend to stay in Buganda? Do they mainly make a single visit to get money for a particular purpose and hence fall into the category of "target workers" to use Orde-Browne's phrase, or do they make repeated visits or stay for long periods such as ten years, or do they settle permanently? Some kind of estimate of the proportion falling into each of these categories is made in Chapter V.

(*e*) How far are the strangers incorporated into Ganda society either as alien communities or individuals, or as groups which have completely lost any cultural differences they may originally have had? Some estimate of this kind is made in Chapter VII.

Answers to these questions should throw at least some light on one of the main problems confronting Buganda, that is to say the extent to which its whole economy depends on foreign labour. The fact of its dependence has been recognised for many years[1] although Powesland cites a Governor's dispatch written in 1926 to show that there were originally hopes that this state of affairs was a temporary one and that the Ganda would later begin to take over the unskilled work in the industries and plantations in their country. Since then the development of Uganda has been quite rapid and the pace of industrialisation is likely to increase when the new Owen Falls Dam makes additional sources of power available to manufacturers. Will these factories be staffed by Ganda hitherto mainly engaged on cotton production or by immigrants? If the latter, will the immigrants be drawn from their present employment in peasant agriculture and plantations into the factories or will the new openings attract a still larger influx of peoples from Ruanda-Urundi and elsewhere as the Development Report published in 1947 predicts.[1]

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[1] See Report on an Investigation Into Conditions Affecting Unskilled Labour and the Supply Thereof Within the Protectorate, J. M. Elliot, 1937 (hereafter referred to as the Elliot Report); Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Labour Situation in the Uganda Protectorate, 1938 (hereafter referred to as the 1938 Labour Commission Report); *Labour Conditions in East Africa*, Major G. St. J. Orde-Browne, 1946.

A knowledge of the patterns of work developed by both the Ganda and the immigrants during the past half-century obviously does not make it possible to prophecy as to the ultimate fortunes of the African primary producer or the plantation or factory manager, but it does at least give some clues as to the future, and it also suggests problems for further research.

Again there are some questions of sociological importance implicit in this inquiry and ones which may well have a bearing in other parts of Africa where one tribal area is being infiltrated by people belonging to another ethnic group. Buganda is being invaded by strangers and in fact in some areas the hosts are actually being outnumbered by the guests. This process has been watched with apprehension by some observers. In 1946 Orde-Browne warned the Government of the day in general terms of the possibility of serious repercussions due to the overcrowding, the disruption of local native customs and the possible hostile attitudes which might be provoked in the indigenous population.[2] Schapera and Stanner uttered similar warnings in 1950 and suggested that it might be found that the immigrants in Buganda were beginning to detach themselves from Ganda society and to set up separate communities of their own.[3]

These are questions of obvious political importance especially at a time when British colonial policy favours the rapid democratisation of local African councils or the institution of new ones which resemble more closely the organs of local government in the United Kingdom. If African councils are to be composed of elected members rather than persons serving by virtue of traditional rights, immigrants will naturally have more political power in the countries in which they have come to live than they have at present.[4]

Besides these practical issues, the tribal admixture in Buganda raises a number of questions of interest to the student of African sociology. Anthropologists have here a chance to study one of those processes of absorption of alien groups into indigenous tribal structures which have been such a constant feature of African history, but, unlike the historian, they have the chance of studying it at first hand. We know that there have been a number of fairly distinct migration patterns in East Africa in time past. Lineage groups have split off from parent stocks and have become attached by fictions of common descent to similar lineages in another tribe. In some cases they have acquired position as ruling dynasties over indigenous people. In others the migrants have been absorbed into the political systems of neighbouring tribes by the mere act of recognising the latters' chiefs and giving them tribute. They have done so either as refugees from one tyrannical chief trying to win protection from another, or as humble allies of a more powerful political group. Cases of families and individuals being incorporated in stranger tribes are also known. Some of the social structures resulting from tribal admixture of this kind have already been described[1] but the different migration patterns have never been systematically analysed or classified. The present material should give examples of one or two incorporation processes.

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[1] E. B. Worthington, *A Development Plan for Uganda*, 1946, published 1947, paras. 15–16.

[2] Major G. St. J. Orde-Browne, op. cit., para. 30.

[3] Schapera and Stanner, op. cit., 1950.

[4] The extent to which foreigners are acquiring this power in Buganda is discussed in Chapter VII.

Nowadays the situation is further complicated by the fact that indigenous political systems have been recognised in most British colonies but the powers of rulers and their subjects have been sharply defined. Once a native authority has been accepted in a tribal area, the British administration assumes that equal citizenship will be given to all persons living in that aιea. The acceptance of an inferior status for immigrants is not usually approved. The difficulties to which this assumption leads in Buganda are discussed in this report.

Another interesting feature of the present situation is the admixture of cultures of very different types. Some of the immigrants in Buganda belong to the Bantu group and speak languages similar to that of the Ganda. The Nyoro, Toro, Nkole, Kiga and even the Ruanda and Rundi belong to this group and in some cases their languages are not more different than Dutch and German, or even less different. But the migrants from the West Nile District such as the Alur, the Lugbara, the Acholi and kindred peoples mostly speak Nilotic languages. These two main groups differ in ways of living and staple food and also in their social structure. The Bantu peoples have mostly a centralised political system and the West Nile peoples, except for the Alur, have not. In such conditions, the anthropologist naturally asks himself how long cultural differences are going to persist when settlement has taken place in Buganda? What makes for the quick incorporation of a group of immigrants in the local social structure and what retards it? Are some types of culture more compatible than others? These are all questions which the peculiar type of tribal admixture in Buganda invites the anthropologist to study.

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[1] *Cf.* work by Evans-Pritchard, Fortes, Nadel, Gluckman and Barnes. A. W. Southall has a monograph in progress on this subject.

METHODS OF WORK.

This report gives a broad outline of the history of the movement of peoples into Buganda and of its causes and effects. It makes no pretence at estimating exactly the numerical incidence of any one phenomenon associated with the migration, such as the degree to which foreigners are taking up land either in Buganda as a whole or its constituent districts. If such estimates are required, they will have to be undertaken later.[1]

Many of the observations recorded in this preliminary investigation will appear crude to those accustomed to the standard of accuracy reached in many of the social surveys now carried out in the United Kingdom. This is partly due to the shortage of staff and resources[2] but the work was also planned in this way for methodological reasons. In the present inadequate state of our knowledge of the social and economic structure in many African colonies, descriptive outlines, based on exploratory surveys, seem to me necessary before any exact estimate of the statistical frequency of the occurrence of any particular form of behaviour can be made. This necessity should be boldly faced by the investigator of any major social problem in an African territory, and perhaps specially in the case of one engaged on a social problem with many facets, such as the one described in this book.

Wide background information is necessary for a survey to be carried out in territories of this description. It would probably not be imperative to write a detailed history of the Industrial Revolution or of the system of central and local government in the United Kingdom as a preface to a social survey of a district of Manchester, but analogous data may be essential in the case of a survey of a colonial town.

It must be remembered also that the difficulties and expenses of an orthodox social survey are higher under colonial conditions than they would be in the United Kingdom and they are also higher than those of an exploratory survey of the type that is about to be described. It is therefore advisable that such work should be postponed until the nature of the problem to be studied is understood, otherwise time and effort is liable to be wasted. In England, for instance, family surveys are conducted on the assumption that the nature of the concepts of marriage and parenthood are understood by the investigators. This may not be the case in many parts of Africa.

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[1] It will be remembered that even the much more elaborate survey planned by Schapera and Stanner was intended as a preliminary inquiry.

[2] None of the contributors to this report were working anything like full-time on the problem.

Thus, though the report has admittedly only reached the first stage in a scientific inquiry, yet it is a necessary stage, if the final survey is to be productive of new hypotheses as to the changes taking place in African society. Part of the data in the present report have been produced by the collection and analysis of documentary material which is fortunately rich in the case of Uganda. It consists of several interesting historical accounts, such as the works of Roscoe, Hattersley and others, at least two general descriptions of social and economic conditions in Uganda (Thomas and Scott, and Tothill), an anthropological study of Buganda (Mair), and a number of special reports such as the reports of the 1937 and 1938 Labour Commissions, that of the 1929 Cotton Commission, and the Worthington Development Report of 1946. In Buganda, too, the tax registers, birth and death registers, legal case records and records of crop production kept by local government authorities are usually comparatively full.

But the main body of the report also gives conclusions based on the study of a series of units here described as "exploratory samples." This term is used for a community or institution selected for first-hand observation before an orthodox statistical survey is undertaken. The villages chosen in the present inquiry were studied with techniques similar to those used by an anthropologist working in an unknown culture and with somewhat the same point of view. The aim was to get a general account of the social structure of a village, its administration and its relation with neighbouring communities; its system of family and marriage; its method of land-holding and its major economic activities such as the planting of cotton, coffee and food-crops and the employment of labour. This initial information was used as a basis for a rough quantitative survey of which the results are given in Appendix C. The initial observation also acted as a means of testing the validity of such statistics as existed, such as tax registers.

As in anthropological field-work, most of the interviewing was done by experienced investigators living in the community[1] rather than by people of the enumerator type carrying out instructions given them by others. Such trained field workers should be free at this exploratory stage to follow the stimulus of the new social situation and to allow their minds to range over the widest number of possible hypotheses. They should use all their previous comparative information and the sociological insight which they have come to acquire. They should ask the maximum number of questions of themselves and others. The time when the questions to be asked should be limited exactly and framed as precisely as possible, in order to ensure that a number of interviewers ask the same questions in the same way, has not yet come. In fact, it is my experience that field workers under African conditions start using questionnaires too soon rather than too late, as a general rule.

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[1] It was rarely possible to spend more than two weeks in any one village which was in reality too short a time for this exploratory work.

The investigator in this exploratory stage should also be free to use the most varied techniques and should certainly employ all the methods commonly practised in an anthropological study. In the case of this inquiry unstructured interviews were used as well as direct inquiries to chiefs, landowners and others. Material was collected from conversations overheard in gatherings of different sorts, as well as that formally requested. The agitated discussions that took place at council meetings were sometimes found more informative than replies to questionnaires. Direct observation of agricultural activities or the behaviour of a landowner to his foreign labourer also provided information. Visits were made to cotton ginneries and tea estates. A questionnaire was finally used on 100 per cent. samples of house-holders in particular villages and some of the data derived from this questionnaire is presented in Appendix C.[1]

The results produced from these exploratory samples, however rough, were used during the course of the survey to set new questions for documentary research. In fact there should be a constant interplay between the two, which is of course easier if both sides of the work are carried out by the staff of the same Institute. For instance, here the preliminary examination of the census provided the basis of selection of districts for sample areas, but the material obtained through work in these areas suggested new hypotheses for further examination of the census. Some of Fortt's conclusions as to the reasons for settlement of immigrants are based on data on land-law and practice obtained in the villages.

The preliminary work, as completed here, should form the basis of a more orthodox social survey in which all the modern techniques of the random sample should be used to determine the numerical incidence of any one variable on which information is required, either in Buganda as a whole or its separate districts. Further, although this is not directly in the line of our present interests, such exploratory samples could also form a basis for more intensive studies of the anthropological type, say, for instance, observations of kinship attitudes or personality structure. Anthropological field workers have too often chosen villages for intensive work without finding out the range of variation in community type by exploratory work, and have sometimes done intensive studies of this kind without sufficient knowledge of the general background.

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[1] It should be noted that an exploratory survey of this kind differs from what is usually described as a pilot survey which commonly precedes an orthodox social survey and consists of the trial use of a questionnaire already drawn up. It also differs from the intensive studies of communities sometimes carried out by anthropologists as an end in themselves. Here intimate participation in the life of the community, personal knowledge of its inhabitants and direct observation of their behaviour and ways of thinking over a long period of time may lead to rewarding results.

The selection of exploratory samples has usually to be determined by a variety of practical and theoretical factors and indeed when the investigator knows as little of village structure, land-owning or the production of cotton, as we did at the beginning of the work, the choice need not follow such rigid lines. Any village chosen would have given us a great deal of the information we needed. Nor would it be easy to select a village for exploratory purposes on a statistically random basis. It is a community that is to be studied and not a collection of individuals whose possessions or reactions can be enumerated. Again, in the case of a problem like the one under review, there are a great many variables to be considered, such as soil type, ethnic composition, agricultural practices, methods of land-owning and any of these might be made the basis of selection. In fact, one of the purposes of exploratory work is to find out the number of variables relevant to the inquiry in hand. The following methods were in fact used.

The selection of camps for the analysis of the immigrant flow was an easy one. The two camps chosen, Kabale and Kyaka Ferry, were those where the highest number of travellers were registered. It was found possible to take a random sample of 100 men and 100 women passing through the camps, since each migrant is lined up at night to be counted before receiving an issue of rations. It was thus possible to select the fourth or the fifth man, after drawing the starting number in the manner described in Appendix B.

In the village studies the selection was made on the basis of the main units of local government. These are the 20 *Saza* (or "counties")—districts with anything from 2,300 to 265,000 inhabitants; the 131 *gombolola* (or "sub-counties") with from 300 to 45,000 inhabitants, and the 910 *miruka* [sing. *muruka*] (or "parishes") with from 23 to 4,500 inhabitants.

For the village studies the following *saza* were selected—Kyagwe, which had an immigrant population of 45 per cent., Buddu with 36 per cent. and Busiro with 29 per cent. It will be seen from Chapter IV that the *saza* selected were not necessarily those with the highest percentage of immigrants. These districts were chosen mainly according to type, i.e. Kyagwe was selected because of the presence of a number of European and Asian owned plantations of sugar, coffee and tea; Buddu because of the presence of peasant production, particularly of coffee, on a larger scale than elsewhere, so that immigrant labourers easily find employment; and Busiro because it is one of the oldest settled areas in Buganda and near the town of Kampala.

Moreover, we were working on a *gombolola* rather than a *saza* level and a *saza* with quite a low percentage of immigrants in the population, such as Busiro, might have, and does have, a high percentage in its constituent districts. For instance, in Mumyuka *gombolola*, Busiro, the percentage was 23 per cent. and in Mutuba III, Busiro, it was as high as 52 per cent.

Within the *gombolola* a particular *muruka* was selected by means of conversation with the chiefs who were usually able to give a clear account of the characteristics of each part of their district. The figures of tax payers summarised at the *gombolola* headquarters gave a rough indication of the number of Ganda and "foreigners" in the district, since these figures are given in separate tables. It was thus possible to see at a glance which *muruka* had the highest percentage of immigrants. The selection of villages was also discussed with *gombolola* councils and those held in individual *miruka* and from the discussions the following villages were selected:

Busiro.

Seseriba with 42·6% immigrants	Surveyed Nov.–Dec., 1950
Musisi with 76·9% immigrants	,, Nov.–Dec., 1950
Mabanga with 63·2% immigrants	,, Jan.–Feb., 1951

Kyagwe.

Lugala with 48·8% immigrants	,, Feb.–Mar., 1951

Buddu.

Luwoko with 60·3% immigrants	,, May, 1951
Nyangabewekere with 75·7% immigrants (Crown Land)	,, May, 1951
Mugaju with 29·7% immigrants (soldiers settlement)	,, May, 1951

The *gombolola* headquarters consisted of well-built modern buildings, with well-lighted halls. Members of the council sat in parallel rows facing each other, while members of the general public leant in through the low unglazed windows. The investigators sat on the platform with the *gombolola* chief and other notables and described the purpose of the survey and asked for advice on the selection of areas.

After preliminary experience in the first *gombolola* visited, it became our habit to visit, whenever possible, each *muruka*. In many cases *miruka* councils were called to meet us and here again we explained the purpose of the survey, but also asked older men to give a history of the arrival of immigrants in their village and to describe their method of settlement at the present day. These meetings took place in rough wattle and daub buildings with thatched roofs and often of very tumble-down appearance. The interior of the halls was dark in spite of openings in the walls which again allowed the general public to crowd round listening to the discussion and often to shout comments. These meetings proved most illuminating, since the discussion was often lively and prolonged for two or three hours. From the shorthand record of these meetings are derived some of the data given in Chapters VII and IX. It was also found useful to go through the tax register of each *muruka*. The extraordinary memory of older *miruka* chiefs enabled them to go through a list of 500 to 1,000 taxpayers' names on their register and give the tribal affiliation of each man mentioned. They were also able to give not only the names of landowners and the number of peasants on their lands, but, in many cases, the amount of land held and the date of its acquisition. Many remained alert throughout the period of two or three hours while this laborious process of note-taking was carried to an end.

This collection of material on conditions as regards settlement in all the *miruka* of a *gombolola* not only made it possible to select one *muruka* for more intensive work, but also provided a great deal of general information on types and causes of settlement in the whole *gombolola* and on the attitudes of the people to their visitors. Thus the village finally selected became the centre of a series of concentric rings. The house-to-house questionnaire applied to the village only; the tax register was examined in detail on a *muruka* basis, and considerable general information was collected for the whole *gombolola*.

Within the *muruka*, the village (*mutala*) was selected for a variety of reasons. Size was one factor, because, since it had been decided to do a 100 per cent. sample, it was necessary to select a number of householders that could be visited with the staff and time available. A village of much more than 100 householders would have been beyond our resources. The type of country and the length of settlement were also factors considered. For instance, Seseriba, in Busiro, was on good soil and had been settled for many years, whereas Musisi, in the same *gombolola*, was on poor soil and had only recently been converted from grazing land into cultivated plots. We also looked for immigrant groups of different ethnic origin, since we believed that these might have different patterns of settlement—an assumption which turned out to be correct. Thus, Mabanga village in Busiro was selected because it was shown to contain settlements of West Nile immigrants and Lugala, in Kyagwe, because it had immigrants from the Eastern Province. It was also found possible to visit householders in villages on Crown land and in a soldiers settlement area, respectively, since here the type of land-holding differed slightly.

On these bases, 413 householders, Ganda and immigrant, were interviewed. 98 casual immigrant labourers were also seen and the results of these interviews were grouped separately to give a rough sample of "porters." (*Cf.* Appendix D.)

The householders were interviewed in their own houses in interviews that lasted from 20 to 40 minutes. Most of the immigrants spoke Luganda, but in some cases Swahili had to be used. Southall was able to speak Alur to the immigrant communities he visited in Mabanga and a clerk from Kigezi spoke Lunyaruanda. The opinions given to European and African investigators did not seem to differ materially, although the comments of the latter on the agricultural efficiency of the householders were, of course, far more revealing. Immigrant householders often had to be interviewed in the presence of landowners who were showing us round their estates. In these circumstances, it was idle to hope that they would give their real opinions of the Ganda on whose land they were living. For this reason the account of the attitude of the Ganda to the foreigners is probably much more accurate than the description of the immigrants' views of their hosts. In any case, a really intensive study of the relations between the foreigners and the Ganda could only have been made by means of a much longer period of work in a village and by direct observation of their behaviour in different situations.

To conclude, the methods used in this preliminary investigation have been a mixture of documentary research, anthropological field techniques and small-scale social surveys made at a crude level of accuracy. It may be noted that the investigators were at first inclined to over-value the results obtained from the house-to-house surveys We later came to the conclusion that the data which stimulated new lines of thought came more often from casual conversations and first-hand observation than from the rigid use of the questionnaire. The additional case-history information scribbled at the bottom of our forms has been used as much as the entries under the different headings. Questions on apparently extraneous points such as the political organisation of a *muruka*, often proved to have an important bearing on the process of settlement and the wider the net was cast in the usual anthropological fashion, the greater the number of hypotheses which were thrown up. In fact, the main lesson to be learnt from this experiment in exploratory samples is that we drew up our questionnaire too soon and applied it before we had sufficient background information.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE MIGRATION IN UGANDA

P. G. POWESLAND

Internal migration within Uganda and the immigration of labour from tribes outside the Protectorate have been a focus of interest from administrative, medical and economic points of view since the early years of the century. A remarkable feature of these movements has been their concentration on Buganda and the extent to which alien tribes have come to work for Ganda cultivators. Widespread employment by one tribe of members of other tribes is not common in Africa; but the exceptional position of the Ganda as habitual employers of immigrant labour follows a tradition of their earlier dominance over the neighbouring peoples.

In former times the Ganda adopted captive boys and women in large numbers as slaves. They were obtained during their frequent raids on the neighbouring Soga, Nyoro and Toro, and became incorporated into the households of both chiefs and peasants.[1]

Dr. Carl Peters commented[2]:

> "If nations may be divided into two classes, those which are destined to rule and those which are compelled to obey, the Waganda belong unquestionably to the former class." They possessed "an instinctive feeling of their superiority over others." Their desire to hold a certain rank, however, led them to despise "common, unskilled labour."

Earlier writers had made similar observations:

> "One of the principal evils resulting from slavery in Uganda is that it causes all manual labour to be looked upon as derogatory to the dignity of a free man."[3]

The peasant, however, was subject to *corvée* at the will of his chief and the penalties of disobedience were such that he would, when necessary, undertake distasteful labour; but the burden was shifted, whenever possible, on to other shoulders.[4]

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[1] R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda*, 1889, p. 291; F. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, 1893, Vol. I, pp. 172–3. *Cf.* also Chapter VII *infra* for a more detailed account of slavery.

[2] Carl Peters, *New Light on Dark Africa*, 1891, pp. 406–7.

[3] C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, 1882, Vol. I, p. 186.

[4] R. Rodd, *Sir Gerald Portal*, 1894, pp. 197–9.

As late as 1908 a large share of the work of maintaining the roads evidently fell to the women:

> "Each chief is responsible for the roads of his territory, and he calls upon every householder for the requisite amount of labour. The householder, as a rule, sees that most of the work is done by the women."[1]

This was in addition to their entire responsibility for the cultivation and preparation of food.

The men had their sphere. There is abundant reference in the early literature to their skill, not only in the arts of war, but in a considerable variety of specialised crafts. "The Waganda," Lugard reported, ". . . are extremely clever in artisan work, and very eager to learn all handicrafts."[2] But "to stoop and dig the ground like a woman" was to the Ganda male a mark of degradation.[3]

The early writers were greatly impressed by the eagerness of the Ganda, and especially of the chiefs, to adopt European tastes and habits. Sir Charles Eliot, for example, writing in 1905, described the Ganda as "incomparably the most intelligent and progressive" of the tribes of eastern Africa, and compared them with the Japanese in their capacity for assimilating European culture.[4] In 1899 Sir Harry Johnston was astonished when Ganda chiefs requested him to supply them with gramophones. He found the people of Buganda "greedy for cloth and almost every manufactured article. . ."[5] These attitudes had remarkable effects. So strong was the desire for money with which to buy imported goods that many Ganda in the early years of British administration overcame their traditional aversion to ordinary labour, and rapidly became accustomed to paid employment, which was unknown in Buganda before 1895.[6] By 1897 the government, traders and missionaries in Kampala and Port Alice (Entebbe) were able to obtain as many Ganda labourers as they required (about 600 per day) at a monthly wage of Shs. 6/-.[7] The imposition of a Hut Tax in 1900 caused a great increase in the numbers of Ganda seeking ways of earning money. Many engaged in trade as the preferred means of obtaining their requirements, but unskilled labour was undertaken when the reward appeared sufficiently attractive.

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[1] P. Macqueen, *In Wildest Africa*, 1910, p. 354–5.

[2] Lugard, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 478.

[3] Mengo Notes (Kampala), Vol. IV, No. IV, April, 1903, p. 21 (quoting *The Pall Mall Gazette*).

[4] Sir Charles Eliot, *The East African Protectorate*, 1905, p. 99.

[5] Sir Harry Johnston, Despatch to Foreign Office, 27th April, 1900.

[6] C. W. Hattersley, "Uganda—Progress of Commerce," *Uganda Notes* (Kampala), May, 1904, p. 84.

[7] C. 8277. F.O. Diplomatic and Consular Reports on Trade and Finance, 1897, Africa—Report on the Trade and Industry of Uganda, p. 5.

A few quotations from contemporary records will illustrate the great changes which were taking place.

"Christian teaching [in Buganda] had long been preparing people to desire a better state of things . . . and as goods became cheaper, better clothes and better houses . . . came to be looked on as necessities."[1] ". . . there is a growing desire to possess wealth and [the Waganda] will engage themselves for six months at a time to carry loads or work as labourers."[2] "[The Baganda] are no longer confined within the limits of their own country. In every important trading centre in and around the Protectorate, in isolated stations down the Line, in unexpected corners of remote districts Baganda are to be found . . . They are . . . there . . . as traders or labourers."[3] It was noted in 1904 that at Port Florence (Kisumu), on the eastern shore of Lake Victoria, there was a considerable Ganda population, "variously estimated at from 200 to 300 . . ." "They leave their wives behind . . . and make their homes for some months at Kisumu, while they do whatever work is to be done. Most of the porterage work is done by Baganda. They draw rather more than double the rate of pay obtainable in Uganda, but food is correspondingly dearer."[4]

By 1907, however, the Ganda were no longer coming forward in sufficient numbers as labourers. The increasing demand exceeded supply by a large margin. Ganda were still "trading or hawking cloth, etc., up and down the country";[5] but they also had begun to discover a new means of finding the money they required. Cotton-growing by the Ganda had begun in 1904 as a result of encouragement from the Government and the C.M.S. Mission and was now developing rapidly.[6] C. W. Hattersley commented in 1908: "The question of labour is at the moment a most difficult problem. It is so very easy to earn the hut tax now by growing cotton; the women and children do the work, and the man, the lord of the household, looks on encouragingly, whilst occasionally lending a hand. The crop produced is sufficient to pay all necessary expenses for the year."[7]

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[1] C. W. Hattersley, op. cit., p. 85.

[2] J. B. Purvis, *Handbook to B.E.A. and Uganda*, 1900, p. 53.

[3] "The Eastern Province—From Mengo to Masaba," *Uganda Notes* (Kampala), Nov., 1904, p. 160.

[4] Rev. J. J. Willis, "Christian or Mahommedan," *Uganda Notes* (Kampala), May, 1904, p. 74, *cf.* also Native Labour Commission, 1912–13 (Nairobi), p. 101, p. 140 (evidence of Mr. J. J. Cox and Mr. A. C. Freeman Pannett).

[5] T. B. Fletcher, "Notes from Kasaka," *Uganda Notes* (Kampala), Jan., 1908, p. 61.

[6] H. B. Thomas and R. Scott, *Uganda*, 1935, p. 127.

[7] C. W. Hattersley, *The Baganda at Home*, 1908, p. 114.

There was at this time, however, a very great wastage of labour owing to the large numbers required for head porterage. In 1907 it was estimated that over 10,000 men were used daily as porters in Kampala alone.

The very large numbers required for official purposes and the inadequacy of the voluntary supply led to the institution of the subsequently detested *kasanvu* system of compulsory paid labour for the Government. Chiefs appear to have been using their influence to provide labour for Government for several years before 1908, but it was in December of that year that the practice was systematised by Sir Hesketh Bell. The chiefs in Buganda were required to induce their people to work for the Government "for the usual wages for at least one month in each year." Men were to be called upon in turn, their names being read off from the tax registers. The scheme was a remarkable success at the outset, and was soon unobtrusively adopted in other parts of the Protectorate.

Sir Hesketh Bell's minute mentioned that "a considerable number of people from Toro, Bunyoro and Ankole find their way down to Entebbe and Kampala in search of work and they would of course, relieve the strain upon the people of Buganda." There are records showing an increasing number of labourers from these districts working at Entebbe after 1900, particularly Toro.

Ham Mukasa[1] recalls the influx into Buganda of people from the surrounding tribes coming to earn "European money" in the early years of the century and mentions particularly the Soga, Nyoro, Toro and Ziba. It is of interest that all these tribes had previously been under Buganda's "sphere of influence" and had in the past at various times supplied captive slaves and tribute to the Ganda. Some obtained work with the Government, while others sought work with the Ganda. The first tribes to supply paid labour to the Ganda seem therefore to have been principally the Soga, Nyoro, Ziba and—apparently to a smaller extent—the Toro. (By 1908, the Germans had stopped the immigration of Ziba.)[2]

It seems clear that in the early days of the cotton industry in Buganda much of the work of cultivation was done by the women. The Chief Agricultural Officer, describing the method of cotton cultivation in 1910 said, "At present, practically the whole of the cotton exported from Uganda is raised by hand cultivation, women being employed for this work."[3] There is evidence, however, that a gradual change in the status of women in Buganda was taking place at this time. Hattersley[1] remarked: "Now a change is coming over the country . . . The men have to do more, for women 'suffragettes' have appeared. These insist that, if they are not supplied with European clothing . . . the banana supply for the family will stop; they will no longer cultivate, but go off and get work as labourers, and earn money with which to clothe themselves satisfactorily. In the face of this, a man wanting to live happily and with sufficient food has to supply the food and other luxuries demanded." He ascribed this change largely to the influence of Christianity. "It is almost entirely owing to the fact that they are becoming Christians that the women ask for better treatment, and that the men have shown themselves willing to go to work as requested."[2]

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[1] Formerly Chief of Kyagwe in Buganda and author of *Uganda's Katikiro in England*, published in 1904.

[2] C. W. Hattersley, op. cit., p. 117.

[3] P. H. Lamb, "Report on Cotton in Uganda," 1910, p. 7.

This change is no doubt part of the explanation for the rapid growth of the Ganda custom of employing labourers from outside tribes to grow cotton for them, and for the transfer of responsibility for the cultivation of the "economic crops" to the man. According to Ham Mukasa, many alien labourers were being employed by the Ganda during the First World War, chiefly Soga, Nyoro and Toro, and it is known that by 1919 they were also employing Dama, Gishu and migrants from the Uganda Kavirondo.[3] They were probably also employing Nkole.

In retrospect, it is evident that a fundamental change in outlook gradually came about in Buganda as to the recognised division of labour between the men and the women in agriculture. Cotton-growing was at first regarded as merely an extension of women's traditional responsibility for growing all the crops needed by the household. Later, as the household came to require a minimum money income for tax payments, school fees, and certain imported goods which were becoming conventional necessities, the women, to judge from Hattersley's observations, resisted with some success a further addition to their assignment of work. During the "boom" in coffee- and rubber-planting between 1911 and 1914, Ganda men were already showing themselves ready to work on the European estates—partly, it is true, in order to avoid *kasanvu*, since those who could claim to be in permanent employment were not called upon for this compulsory labour. About 1915–16, however, planters seem to have found that they could get more work out of their recruited labour from the Eastern Province, and therefore tried to reduce the rates paid to the Ganda. This encouraged the latter, with the exception of those who remained to carry out the skilled plantation work for which other tribes were unsuitable, increasingly to take to the cultivation of cotton on their own account, particularly in those areas where cotton-growing was being actively encouraged by zealous chiefs. Some of the more well-to-do peasants, like many of the chiefs, also began about this time to plant their own rubber and coffee.

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[1] C. W. Hattersley, op. cit., p. 109.

[2] The necessity of appearing suitably clothed for public worship no doubt increased the traditional concern of Ganda women about their attire.

[3] The Kedi group of tribes was comparatively little known by the Ganda in earlier times, and Ham Mukasa recalls that the Gishu first came into Buganda in company with Ganda returning on visits from Kakunguru's settlement around Mbale (H. B. Thomas and R. Scott, op. cit., pp. 445–6); Gishu were being recruited as early as 1914 for work on the European plantations then being opened up in Buganda and they soon adopted the habit of seeking casual work among the local Ganda in return for supplies of food.

The growing number of migrants coming into Buganda during these years doubtless facilitated this gradual assumption by the men of the task of growing the new crops. Those able to afford to employ migrants could accept the change, but still escape much of the drudgery involved.

By 1923, the changeover had gone far, though the Director of Agriculture in that year could still say—in answer to a resolution by the Buganda Central Council concerning the development of cotton markets—"cotton growing should not be left to the women and old people, but be taken up by strong men, and then the difficulty of carrying the cotton to the nearest buying place will be removed."

A decade later, when Mair studied the Ganda, the new division of labour had become established. Most of the traditional occupations of the men (such as bark-cloth making) had fallen into disuse, and instead men were now "earners of money to provide the household with clothes and the new 'necessities of life' which European contact has created."[1] The majority played their new part by growing coffee or cotton. But "as a result partly of the decline of voluntary co-operation and partly of the disappearance of slavery" wage-labour, drawn almost entirely from alien tribes, had become a normal feature of Ganda life.[2] The Ganda had by this time "translated the old sense of superiority into the idea that skilled labour is the sphere of the Baganda, and unskilled work that of other tribes."[3] It is still quite usual, however, for Ganda women to lend a hand in cotton cultivation, particularly if paid labour is scarce or can ill be afforded. Moreover, women frequently ask their husbands for a small cotton plot to cultivate themselves so as to provide a little extra personal income. But the main "strategy" of production is normally the man's province.

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[1] L. P. Mair, *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, p. 123.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Despite the assistance which the Ganda were receiving at that time from neighbouring tribes, the extension of the cotton acreage in Buganda after 1911 began to lag behind in comparison with the Eastern Province.[1] This appears to have been due in part to the alternative employment opportunities available to unskilled and skilled labourers as a result of the boom in coffee and rubber already referred to. Another cause of the relatively slow progress of cotton production in Buganda at this time was the amount of porterage imposed on growers by the lack of good motoring roads. Cotton grown during these early years was nearly all carried to the market in individual head loads, or sometimes by hand-drawn carts. The unsuitability of the native roads for heavy motor traffic caused the ginneries and buying centres to remain close to the Lake ports. It seems that the heavy work which porterage involved had more serious effects in Buganda than in the Eastern Province on the growth of the industry.

The operation of *kasanvu* in Buganda also tended to check the expansion of the cotton acreage, penalising as it did those who settled down to the cultivation of their crops at the expense of those who could keep out of the way of their chiefs. During the latter years of the 1914–18 War *kasanvu* became a much hated and increasingly ineffective means of getting unskilled labour. Fewer Ganda found it necessary to go to the plantations to escape *kasanvu*. The Provincial Commissioner of Buganda expressed the opinion in 1917 that the Ganda would never provide an adequate supply of unskilled labour: there were too many other and more interesting ways of making money open to them. He also remarked on "the large amount of land which had been sold and bought in recent years" (i.e. the subdivision of "mailo" freehold land). By buying land Ganda considered that they had become "chiefs" and many people who were formerly liable to *kasanvu* claimed exemptions on this ground. Recognised chiefs were also admitting more and more of their people to the exempted categories of "permanent employment," often on the slightest justification. In 1918 a group of the leading Ganda chiefs protested to the Government against the continuance of the *kasanvu* system. It was the cause of continual discontent among the people. They agreed that, as then administered, it fell disproportionately on the old and the weak. They added "It has been noticed that a large number of people leave this Province and go to other provinces (and even to East and German East Africa) on account of this work, because those who are called on for *kasanvu* in this country are much despised; they are looked upon as the lowest peasant class and for this reason they emigrate from Buganda."

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[1] J. D. Tothill, *Agriculture in Uganda*, 1940, pp. 184–5.

The Government realised that *kasanvu* was no longer able to bear the weight which had been placed upon it and that it would have to be "gradually abolished." The buoyant revenues of the immediate post-war period, however, encouraged a further expansion of Government expenditure and the Public Works Department was in a serious predicament owing to the lengthy delays imposed by the labour shortage on its building programme. Much was said in Government circles about the necessity for improving the conditions and inducements of work so as to build up a voluntary labour supply, but it was considered impracticable to dispense with *kasanvu* at once. The commercial employers and the planters were also seriously concerned about the labour shortage and persuaded the Government to hold a labour conference during 1918 and 1919 to discuss the problem. One of the results of the conference was the appointment in 1919 of an administrative officer specially directed to deal with all labour matters and in particular to advise on methods of remedying the shortages. The Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon, in making the appointment, required him "to create and maintain a regular and adequate flow of voluntary labour from populated areas to all employers, both government and private." It was clear, he said, that the Government could not permit any legislation authorising compulsion, and the object had therefore to be attained "by educating the chiefs and the people to the wisdom of labour; and all employers to the absolute necessity of feeding, paying, housing and caring for their labourers properly." He visualised regular labour routes being created "adequately provided with good shelters and food and resident caretakers" to supply workers for the employment centres of Kampala and Jinja, the planters in Kyagwe, Busoga and Bunyoro, and the Busoga railway.

The heavy demand for labour in central Buganda had repercussions elsewhere. Planters in Bunyoro and Toro found that much of their local labour was being attracted away. Work was available in these districts but the wage-rates offered were lower than could be obtained in Buganda. Bunyoro planters, in order to replace their losses, obtained permission in September, 1918, to undertake experimental recruiting in the West Nile district and in April, 1919, the Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, commented that "highly satisfactory results" had been obtained in the attraction of labourers to Bunyoro from the three Nile districts, West Nile, Gulu and Chua. This was the first trickle of what later became a large and much valued flow of voluntary labour from the West Nile and

Acholi to the more central areas of the country. Kigezi in 1920 was regarded as "not yet sufficiently advanced" to be considered as a labour reservoir though labour for local needs was readily obtainable. Ankole at that time was said to supply between 6,000 and 8,000 voluntary labourers a year to Buganda, mostly to the Masaka district, and the emigration was increasing.

The administrative officer in charge of labour paid particular attention to the acute post-war shortage in Busoga and found that the Kedi tribes from the Eastern Province tended to by-pass Busoga and to concentrate on Buganda despite the greater distances to be travelled. The attraction lay "not . . . merely in the slightly higher average wage paid in Buganda . . . but also in the opportunities that offer for making money or earning food by doing casual work for Baganda natives. The Basoga cannot compete with the Baganda in this respect."

In 1920 the necessity for the creation of a voluntary labour supply continued to be stressed but neither the Government nor the employing community seem to have had confidence that an adequate supply would in fact be created along these lines in the near future. There was still talk of retaining compulsion in the last resort. The Uganda Development Commission, for example, which that year deliberated at length on the labour problem, after making a number of recommendations concerning the supply of voluntary labour and its employment to the best advantage, concluded that "if these methods fail, or even if they are only partly successful, there is no remedy but to accept the principle of direct pressure."[1]

Steps were taken during 1920 to improve the conditions under which *kasanvu* labour was employed by the Public Works and other Government Departments, but the Buganda Central Council continued to press for the abolition of the system. At the end of that year the labour supply position was still "grave" and Government construction work continued to be held up.

Early in 1921 the first Labour Commission undertook a thorough investigation into the conditions under which labour was employed both by the Government and by private employers. He found that ". . . *kasanvu* labour has usually in the past been employed under conditions of discomfort, and very frequently under conditions of great hardship and distress." As a result a comprehensive circular dealing with the conditions of employment of *kasanvu* labour and the encouragement of a regular supply of voluntary labour to replace the *kasanvu* levies was distributed in October, 1921.

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[1] Report of the Uganda Development Commission, 1920, para. 105.

At this juncture, however, an intervention by the Colonial Office made it clear that under no circumstances would the continuance of compulsory labour be countenanced, apart from the traditional unpaid labour (*luwalo*) performed locally under the control of the native authorities, and labour performed for the Protectorate Government in certain temporary emergencies with the prior approval of the Secretary of State.[1]

Kasanvu in Buganda, Bunyoro and Toro was accordingly abolished as from January 1st, 1922, and by March, 1923, had disappeared throughout the Protectorate. Fortunately from the point of view of the employing departments of the Government, 1921 had been a year of severe depression, which had rendered plantation crops almost unsaleable and had a marked effect on the cotton acreage. In Buganda only 34,000 acres were planted by the growers, in comparison with 55,000 acres in 1920. The result had been to transform the labour market in the course of the year. Towards the end of 1921, hundreds of men were looking for work in Kampala at the beginning of each month.

Labour during 1922 continued to be ample for Government requirements which were themselves limited by the decreased revenue, and the concern of the planters, some of whom were being forced to close their estates, was now over wages rather than supply. The experimental labour camp for Kampala which was being erected by the Government as part of its policy of making labour conditions more attractive was strongly criticised as "tending unduly to inflate the costs of native labour"[2]; and it was contended that Government wage rates for native labourers (then Shs. 11 per month to Shs. 12 per month in Mengo District) were "much in excess of the market rate."[3]

The Governor, however, stated[4] that he was unwilling to take advantage of the depressed trade conditions by imposing a general reduction in the wages of unskilled labour. On the contrary it was the intention "to seize this opportunity to bring the Government into credit as an employer, and to impress upon the natives generally that unskilled labour may be adopted as a reasonable means of livelihood, and that it should not merely be regarded as the last resource of the destitute."

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[1] Cmd. 1509 of 1921. The despatch transmitting this decision followed the controversy which had originated in October, 1919, with the publication of the "Northey Circulars" on the supply of native labour in Kenya (reproduced in Cmd. 873 of 1920). *Cf.* E. Huxley, *White Man's Country*, 1935, Vol. II, pp. 60–67; also Lord Olivier, *White Capital and Coloured Labour*, 1929, Ch. XX.

[2] *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 26th August, 1922, p. 7.

[3] *Proceedings of the Legislative Council*, 25th–26th May, 1922, p. 6.

[4] In a Despatch to the Secretary of State dated 30th May, 1922.

The Labour Commissioner's Report for 1922 mentions particularly Gishu, Dama, Nkole and Alur "continuing to come into Buganda, particularly Mengo." The majority had definite employment in view. The flow of labour from the West Nile had now become established, and the planters in Bunyoro had come to depend on it. For many Alur it was the only means at that time of finding their Poll Tax. A few Alur were also making their own way down into Buganda, and quickly earned a name for themselves as "the best workers in the Protectorate." Recruiting in the West Nile, however, was restricted to the Bunyoro planters, and remained so until October, 1923, when the District was opened to recruiting by employers from any part of the Protectorate. The first steps were taken during 1922 to provide accommodation for West Nile labour by the erection of wayside camps at Pakwach and Butiaba.

During 1923, which was a year of sharply rising cotton prices,[1] the labour supply again began to be inadequate for requirements, particularly in the Eastern Province, where 14½ million shillings had been paid out for the last season's cotton crop, and the effects of the abolition of *kasanvu* began to be felt for the first time. However, nothing more could be done to remedy the labour shortage except to continue to press for the improvement of working conditions. If that failed, it was recognised that the country would slip back; but it was better, in the Government view, that it *should* slip back, than that there should be any recourse to the former system of compulsion which it was now clear had been ultimately thoroughly evil in its effects. In Buganda the Public Works Department reported difficulties in obtaining sufficient labour, except in Kampala, where, it was stated, "a floating labour population seems to be coming into being."[2] The difficulties of the Public Works Department seem to have arisen despite an influx of some 4,500 immigrants per month from the adjoining provinces. Figures quoted by the Labour Commissioner to an employers' Labour Deputation to the Governor on September 21st, 1923, showed approximately 2,000 labourers entering Buganda per month from the Western Province, 1,000 from the Northern Province, and 1,500 from the Eastern Province. These figures were based on an average taken of the returns of road-counts during the previous eight and a half months. The reason why much of this labour failed to reach Government and plantation employers was evidently its absorption by Ganda cotton-growers. A member of the Deputation asked that "pressure should be brought to bear to prevent the

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[1] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Cotton Industry, 1929. App. 2.

[2] Annual Report of the Director of Public Works for 1923, para. 41.

Baganda employing outside tribes as labourers, as this system was having a deleterious effect on the better tribes of the Protectorate."

During 1924, although the influx of labour into Buganda continued, the position became increasingly acute for private employers and the Government departments. The record size of the Public Works Department's construction programme was matched by the exceptional difficulty of obtaining the labour required to carry it out. The remarkable extension of the cotton acreage[1] promised a large revenue, thereby encouraging capital expansion, and simultaneously drained off the local and immigrant labour required for constructional work into the cotton-fields and ginneries.

A similar paradox arose in the Eastern Province, where the record sales of cotton rendered extremely scarce the labour needed to gin it and convey it to the ports. The gravity of the labour shortage on the Jinja-Namasagali railway caused the Inter-Colonial Railway Council to urge both the Kenya and Uganda Governments to endeavour to establish recruiting organisations to ensure labour supplies for Government work.[2]

"The very rapid increases of cotton production, resulting from the high price which has been offered during the past two years, brought great wealth to the tribes occupying the productive central districts. One and a half million sterling has been paid this year to the natives of the Eastern Province for their cotton: £900,000 has been paid to the Baganda. It is not surprising that they prefer to grow cotton for themselves rather than to work for moderate hire for others. The inevitable result has been the practical elimination of the voluntary labourer from these tribes, which previously provided a large proportion of the local labour supply. The stream of casual labour which finds its way from the outlying districts into the productive areas in search of work has been largely absorbed by activities connected with the cotton industry. And buyers of cotton and ginners who generally work on a substantial margin of profit will pay any wage to secure labour . . . Baganda landholders also employ large numbers of this immigrant labour on the cultivation of cotton, under conditions and inducements with which the private employers cannot compete."[1] The solution lay in the further stimulation of voluntary labour already coming in spontaneously from the outlying (non-cotton-growing) districts, viz. Chua and the northern part of Gulu (Acholi); parts of the West Nile; and Ankole and Kigezi. For this purpose it was decided to create a Labour Department, under a senior administrative officer, of which the main functions would be: to study and improve the conditions under which labour was employed and the conditions under which migrating labour travelled along the supply routes; and to recruit labour for the Government and conduct it to the scene of employment. The Labour Department took shape during the last quarter of 1924 and went into full operation on January 1st, 1925.

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[1] The cotton acreage in Buganda rose from 86,000 acres in 1922 to 107,240 in 1923 and 185,000 in 1924. High prices and the influx of labour were not the only influences behind this increase. The Kabaka himself, at the instigation of the Governor, had toured the Entebbe (now part of Mengo) and Masaka Districts in June, 1923, exhorting chiefs and people to increase cotton cultivation for their own benefit. Similar propaganda tours were carried out in various parts of Buganda early in 1924 by two specially detailed administrative officers who urged the Ganda to wrest the lead from the Eastern Provinces. Work had also begun in 1923 on an arterial road programme designed to open up tracts of country hitherto little developed on account of inadequate transport facilities.

[2] Meeting held in Nairobi, 2nd May, 1924.

In the meantime, however, experimental recruiting from the West Nile had already begun under an administrative officer in preparation for work on the Turbo-Mbulamuti railway extension which began in January, 1925. The Uganda Planters' Association had also formed a Recruiting Organisation with the full support of the Government and it commenced operations in the outlying districts during the latter half of 1924. The planters received an assurance that it was not the policy of the Government to stimulate cotton production in these areas.

It was during this period that the presence of large numbers of Ruanda[2] among the migrants coming into Buganda from the south-west began to attract attention. It is probable that as early as 1923 they formed an important element in the flow, as a road count made during two weeks in September, 1924 at points around Kampala showed that 447 (19·7 per cent.) out of a total of 2,268 men returning to their homes from work were Ruanda, and it is unlikely that a proportion as substantial as this was built up in a few months. The majority of those counted were from the Western Province, chiefly Nyoro, Toro and Nkole, who accounted for 1,484 (65·4 per cent.) of the total. A record was also kept of numbers seeking employment or proceeding to work after recruitment, and this shows the proportion of Ruanda as 1,394 out of a total of 4,834 (28·8 per cent.), indicating a rapid increase in the Ruanda element. The number of Nyoro, Toro and Nkole going to work amounted to 1,604 (33·2 per cent.).

The route into Uganda from the Kingdom of Ruanda had traditionally been a means of escape from feud, famine or oppression.[3] Temporary emigration of this type was apparently noticeable during the German occupation of the territory.[1] The closer administration of the country under the Belgians, and particularly the imposition of taxation, caused some increase in the numbers seeking freedom from interference; but 1923–24 appears to be the period when the temporary migration into Uganda, and especially Buganda, began to develop on a large scale. It is no doubt significant that it was in 1924 that the Belgian authorities empowered Residents to compel natives to carry out the cultivation of foodstuffs and economic crops.[2]

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[1] Despatch to the Secretary of State dated 20th August, 1924.

[2] The term is used in this chapter only to include Rundi.

[3] Father J. Nicolet, W.F.

It was not the Government's intention at first to attract immigrants from Belgian territory. They were drawn in, however, in increasing numbers because of the spread of knowledge of the attractive conditions of work in Buganda, and because it was impossible for recruiters to distinguish between natives of "British Ruanda," that is to say, those living over the Uganda border in Bufumbira county, and those of the main territory of Ruanda administered by Belgians: the political boundary as elsewhere cut across the ethnic distribution of the population.

During the first 10 months of 1925, the Labour Department recruited 11,771 labourers from the south-west—from Kigezi and Ankole in Uganda, but the "great majority" from Belgian territory. It also recruited 5,229 from the West Nile—"partly West Nile natives and partly Belgian Congo"; and 1,855 from Lango and Acholi.

In October, however, there was an abrupt fall in the flow of labour from Ruanda, and it was thought that the Belgian authorities were taking drastic action to prevent the outflow of labour to Uganda from continuing. This caused the Labour Department to redouble its efforts to attract labour from within the Protectorate, and 100,000 information leaflets were printed in the Nkole, Toro, Nyoro and Kiga languages for distribution in the areas where these languages are spoken. At the same time the Governor reaffirmed the policy whereby "the production of cotton should not be actively stimulated by propaganda in the West Nile or Chua districts . . . or in the Ankole and Kigezi districts . . . until such time as labour difficulties in the more central districts of the Protectorate become less acute."[3]

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[1] Rapport présenté par le Gouvernement belge au Conseil de la Société des Nations au sujet de l'Administration du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année, 1933, p. 123.

[2] Ruanda-Urundi Ordinance-Law No. 52 of 7th November, 1924. Quoted in: International Labour Office—Forced Labour Report and Questionnaire, 1929, pp. 29–30: *cf.* also *ibid.*, pp. 140–142.

[3] It was not the intention, however, to prevent the planting of cotton by any natives who wished to do so.

At the end of 1925 the Labour Department was held to have been quite successful in its recruiting activities, although the Governor commented on the fact that the labour was coming almost entirely from outside the Protectorate, whereas it had been assumed that it would come from within Uganda. But much remained to be done, he considered, in other and not less important directions, in particular the standardisation and supervision of the conditions under which the men recruited were employed. Careful attention to housing, sanitation and feeding at places of employment, the exercise of strict economy in the use of labour and the offering of prospects of advancement to good workers, should make it possible, it was considered, to obtain all labour required from the local natives in any district (not excluding Buganda), and to dispense with the necessity for bringing down large gangs of labour from distant districts. The Governor was also apprehensive of the possible long-term effects of a policy of importing labour. "The introduction among such people as the Baganda and the Basoga of labourers drawn from tribes which they regard as inferior, working under conditions which they themselves would not accept, must inevitably tend to create among these races a feeling that unskilled, manual labour is a form of employment suitable only for tribes inferior to themselves. There is even a danger that the question may in time become almost one of "caste." In this case the Government, should the system of imported labour ultimately break down, will be confronted . . . with difficulties far more formidable than any which exist at present."[1] The policy of recruitment in the outlying districts pursued during the preceding year could only be regarded as a temporary expedient.

The desire of the Government at this time to dispense with imported and immigrant labour supplies was in consonance with the views of the medical authorities. The Deputy Director of Medical (Native) Services pointed out that "the death rate and incidence of sickness is always higher and the demand on medical services far greater in the case of imported labour than in labour drawn from local populations."[2]

During 1926 and 1927 the apprehensions of the Medical Department were increased. The Ruanda coming into the country in 1926 were described as "a miserably poor lot," and the Governor minuted[1] that he had lately been considering the desirability of shutting down completely recruiting from the south-west until the health conditions in Kampala improved. The sickness and death rates in Kampala camps were causing "grave anxiety" at the end of February, 1926. The Annual Medical and Sanitary Report for 1926 contrasts favourably the West Nile labour with the Ruanda: the latter were of poor physique, and were prone to suffer from malaria, relapsing fever and enteritis.[2] The incidence of relapsing fever had increased by over 100 per cent. since the previous year, most cases occurring along the routes traversed by the immigrants.[3] The majority of patients in Mulago Hospital (Kampala) were Ruanda, "a lowly, unintelligent and dirty race." Ganda were unwilling to be treated cheek by jowl with them and were gradually being driven away. During that year a higher number of deaths occurred at Mulago than ever before.[4]

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[1] Despatch to the Secretary of State dated 20th February, 1926.

[2] In the usage of the times, "imported labour" meant labour recruited by the Labour Department in one district for work in another district; "immigrant labour," labourers engaged locally but not permanently resident in the district in which they were employed; and "local labour," labourers engaged locally and permanently resident in the district in which they were employed.

The Director of Medical and Sanitary Services was of the opinion "that any further recruiting of Ruanda should be prohibited and that any settlers of this tribe should, as far as possible, be repatriated."

At this point, it appeared that increased labour supplies from the West Nile might relieve the situation. They were seeking work in larger numbers than could be fully employed on the railway extension, where the bulk of the labour was now being secured locally. Government recruiting in the West Nile District had up till then been solely for the railway, but permission was now given to the Labour Department to recruit in the West Nile for other Government employers. The planters' recruiting organisation was also continuing to recruit in that area, however, and in September, 1926, the Labour Department, influenced by the recommendations of the 1925 "Rapport de la Commission pour l'Étude du Problème de la Main d'Oeuvre au Congo Belge," expressed fears that recruiting in the West Nile on the current scale might prove a grave danger to the well-being of the tribes concerned. One estimate put the total West Nile labourers then absent from their district at 6,426, or approximately 16 per cent. of the adult male population.

This consideration led to a reluctant decision to continue to recruit in the south-west, in order to reduce the numbers taken from the West Nile. The decision was virtually overtaken by events. Early in 1927 supply exceeded the demand to such an extent that by March 1st recruiting by the Labour Department had ceased. Despite large numbers absorbed on Ganda plots, and in Government ginnery and plantation employment, hundreds of labourers were to be found squatting in and around Kampala and wandering about the country. This unemployed surplus of indigent and hungry migrants living in deplorable conditions in and around the capital constituted a menace to health, especially as between 50 and 100 per cent. of the porters arriving were infected with tick fever, and this led to a further plea in March, 1927, by the Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, for the replacement of foreign by local labour.

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[1] 26th June, 1926.

[2] *Annual Medical and Sanitary Report*, 1926, p. 27.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

In view of the complexity of the problem of controlling the immigrant labourers, who had now to be regarded as disseminators of disease, the Governor in August, 1927, appointed a committee to ascertain the facts and to make recommendations for remedial action within the resources of the Protectorate. In the view of the committee, which reported in January, 1928,[1] the movement was seasonal, and it was assumed that a similar influx was to be expected during 1928 and subsequent years, and that the flow would then reach a peak in the first half of the year and diminish during the remainder. The prediction appears to have rested mainly on the experience of 1927. The committee considered the immigration to be advantageous from the point of view of the labour supply and thought it would be "undesirable to restrict the flow in any way to Kampala and other centres of employment." Its recommendations for reducing the medical risks included the conversion of the existing temporary camps at Mbarara and Masaka to permanent structures in materials which would not harbour the disease-bearing tick, and the concentration of migrant labour coming into Kampala in permanent accommodation near the town.

The Report did not make an estimate of the total number of immigrants entering Uganda during the year. Observation posts placed at various key points along the roads had only been operative for a few weeks during the months of July to September, 1927, and it was evidently considered unwarrantable to generalise from the results obtained. An estimate of 46,000 immigrants per annum entering by the south-west route was later submitted to the Governor on the basis of these fragmentary statistics, but it is not clear precisely how the estimate was derived. The questioning of immigrants which took place at these posts did, however, indicate that at that time the majority of the travellers had come from Ruanda, and particularly from the *territoires* of Gatsibu, Kigali and Ruhengeri or from the Belgian Congo near Rutshuru.

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[1] The report was not published.

The Report was also incomplete in its estimates of the distribution of the immigrant labour in employment. According to a representative of the Labour Department in an appendix to the Report: "For the first six months of the year the . . . numbers of immigrants [employed by Government Departments] only amount to . . . an average of 1,364 per month. It is quite obvious, therefore, that the number of immigrant labourers absorbed by Government Departments is very small in comparison to the numbers entering the Protectorate. I think it possible the Missions employ a certain number. Planters, ginners and Lugazi Sugar Factory probably employ an equivalent amount to Government, and I think the other employers are to be found in native shambas, more particularly in the following counties: Bulemezi, Kyagwe, Busiro, Mawokota, and Butambala." The acreage of cotton planted during 1927 in Buganda again showed a significant increase over the previous year, rising from 156,000 acres to 200,000 acres.

The sugar factory mentioned in the Committee's Report was established in Kyagwe County in 1924. A second factory was established near Jinja, just beyond the Buganda boundary, in Busoga, in 1929. The owners of these two factories and their estates, which absorbed a number of pre-existing plantations, later became the two largest private employers of immigrant labour.

The early years of the development of the sugar industry in Uganda coincided with a period of change in the prevailing view as to the manner in which the country should be developed. The encouragement of cotton-growing by the African, which had been fundamental to agricultural and economic policy since the early years of the century, continued, but there was now a gradual but perceptible change in the official attitude towards the development of plantation crops by European capital. This was in part only to recognise the facts—that with the continual expansion of cotton-growing and the impossibility of using direct and indirect compulsion to provide labour for plantations, the area under coffee and rubber cultivation by non-natives had decreased[1] and a number of planters had been on the verge of bankruptcy. Certainly there was a notable diminution in the influence of the planters in labour matters after the middle of the decade. As late as November, 1924, the Governor, when referring in a public speech[1] to the policy of diversifying the country's agricultural production[2] by the encouragement of native coffee planting, felt it necessary to assure planters that their interests were also being served by this measure: the planter had invested his money in Uganda and, in the Governor's view, it was essential that he should succeed. But the eagerness with which Africans were taking up coffee production soon made it clear that the further expansion of the industry would be largely through native efforts. More generally, too, the changing trend of world opinion on the administration of dependent territories was reflected in local attitudes. Uganda came to be regarded less as an "Imperial estate" with natural resources to be developed for the benefit of the outside world. Much more importance was attached to the development of the country primarily in the interests of its native inhabitants.[3] The Acting Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on December 15th, 1926, said: "Uganda is not and cannot be made a white man's country and our duty is in fulfilment of our trusteeship to administer the land in the interest of the native races and to help forward their development."

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[1] The acreage under cultivation by non-native planters in Uganda had reached a peak of 37,798 acres in 1920, according to returns to the Department of Agriculture from 220 plantations. 149 of these were in Buganda and accounted for 72 per cent. of the acreage, which was chiefly under coffee and rubber. Rubber never re-established its former position as a plantation crop, and in 1950 Uganda non-native coffee, according to published figures, had still not regained its 1920 acreage. (Annual Reports of the Department of Agriculture, year ending 31st March, 1920, pp. 47–48; 1950, App. V.)

The period was also marked, in Buganda, by a gradual modification in the way in which land was held and used for production by the natives themselves. The Annual Report of the Land and Survey Department, 1926, stated that symptoms of agrarian unrest in recent years had had their roots in "the insecurity felt by cultivators and the non-landowning class . . . as tenants under landlords who have been guided too often merely by self-interest." This had led to great activity in transfers of land between natives. "It is hardly an exaggeration to state that the acquisition of a smallholding with the consequent freedom from a landlord's exactions is now the great aim of thousands of the Baganda people and is a primary incentive to work and saving in order to provide means for its purchase. These small holdings, usually of 10, 20 or 30 acres . . . are bought from Uganda Agreement landowners, a common price for a picked holding being £2 per acre. This process, which will lead to the breaking up of big estates and the establishment of a class of free peasant proprietors, is being encouraged in every way."[4]

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[1] To the Caledonian Society of Uganda, 29th November, 1924.

[2] In 1924 cotton and cottonseed accounted for 92 per cent. of Uganda's domestic exports. In 1950 the proportion was 61 per cent.

[3] *Cf.* Lord Olivier, op. cit., Ch. IV; Ch. XXI. Also H. Duncan Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship*, 1948, pp. 45–48.

[4] Annual Report of the Department of Land and Survey, 1926, paras 71–73. The process has continued and at the present time (April, 1952) the number of separate *mailo* titles recorded by the Department of Lands and Mines is 28,522, estimated to represent between 70,000 and 80,000 proprietors. There may be a further 10,000 not yet registered (information from the Office of Titles, Entebbe).

This redistribution of land, and the peculiar system of tenure which has made it possible, has undoubtedly been a very important influence in shaping the employment distribution of the immigrants in Buganda and in maintaining their supply. As the Editor points out[1] the facility with which immigrants can come to arrangements with Ganda over the renting of land for cotton-growing on their own account or for settlement as tenants explains much of the attraction which Buganda holds for the foreigner; while for the Ganda the desire to acquire land of their own and thereby "to become chiefs" continues to be not only "a primary incentive to work" but also a strong motive for increasing production by the employment of immigrant labour. The *mailo* system of landholding and the continuing process of sub-division which has taken place since its institution have thus encouraged the inflow of immigrant labour both on the side of demand and supply.

Despite the Ganda's traditional regard for status and contempt for unskilled labour, his taste for certain goods and services which only money can buy has become so ingrained that, if forced by adverse circumstances, he will descend to such work rather than give up entirely his accustomed standard of living.[2] This was illustrated during 1928, when cotton prices in Buganda were unduly depressed by the activities of the Co-operative Buying Association[3] —a "ring" of cotton ginners. This antagonised the Ganda and was doubtless largely responsible for the fact that the cotton acreage in Buganda remained stationary for the years 1927–29. During this period it was noted with surprise that the Ganda, "who were supposed to be averse to this sort of work," were supplying 42 per cent. of the Public Works Department's unskilled labour supply in Mengo.[4]

In 1928—a year of prolonged famine in Ruanda—the immigration of natives from the Belgian mandated territory assumed "formidable proportions." A total of 57,646 immigrants was reported as having entered Buganda during the year, and of these it was roughly estimated that 35,000 were from Belgian territory, the balance being presumably from Tanganyika. Their low state of health and the importation of the spirillum fever tick for which they were responsible continued to cause concern. Some success was achieved in enforcing improved housing on estates, but such recommendations as the introduction of a well-balanced diet met with scant response from employers at a time when they were having little difficulty in obtaining their labour supplies, poor though the quality was.

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[1] Chapter V, *infra*.

[2] *Cf. supra*, p. 19.

[3] Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Cotton Industry of Uganda, 1929, p. 15.

[4] The figure was an average for 1928.

In 1929 the inflow of migrants from Belgian territory appears to have been rather less than in 1928, although all employers were able to meet their requirements. Road counters gave the figure of 19,934 for those entering from South Ruanda and Urundi and 21,541 for those coming from North and East Ruanda. In addition about 20,000 labourers entered from and returned to Tanganyika Territory.

The West Nile continued to be the favoured recruiting ground with private employers, and permits to recruit over 22,000 labourers there were issued during the year. Permanent transit accommodation for the West Nile labourers was constructed at Butiaba, the port on Lake Albert through which the flow must pass in each direction, and the "caravan camps" maintained at the various other key points on the northern and south-western routes[1] were heavily used by Government and private labour.

Work began on the Jinja-Kampala railway link early in the year, and, as a result of propaganda undertaken by the Kabaka and chiefs, its construction by Ganda rather than by labour from outside the kingdom was accepted as a matter of tribal honour.

By 1930, food conditions had returned to normal in Ruanda-Urundi, and the influx "decreased very considerably." The return comparable to that of the previous year showed that natives from South Ruanda and Urundi numbered 16,776 and those from North and East Ruanda 3,561. The numbers of Tanganyika natives also fell, the records showing 15,944 entering and 11,591 departing.

Medical opinion continued to be perturbed at the implications of the unsupervised immigration and in April, 1930, the Labour Commissioner presented a detailed scheme which provided for immigration control in the form of special camps on the Mbarara route near the border and at Kyaka Ferry where the travellers would be medically examined and given treatment if easily cured, and repatriated if suffering from dangerous diseases or so debilitated as to be unemployable. Recruiting for Government and private employers would be concentrated on these camps, and conveyance to the place of employment would as far as possible be by motor transport, the residue finding their own way into Buganda to seek employment with Ganda cultivators.

Doubts were, however, expressed on several grounds as to the practicability of control of this kind and since the revenue of Uganda was then diminishing (November, 1930), the scheme was shelved, apart from the arrangements proposed for the repatriation of incurables.

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[1] At Arua, Panyamur, Hoima, Masaka and Mbarara, and at a point between the two latter towns.

Financial stringency at this period was also responsible for the virtual disbandment of the Labour Department, which was reduced to an Inspector of Labour with a clerk and an interpreter. An incidental result was an abrupt diminution in the documentation on labour matters over the next few years.

In 1931 the supply of voluntary labour exceeded the demand, although a certain amount of recruiting in the West Nile district continued.[1] Wages fell to a marked extent, recruited labour from the West Nile, for example, receiving Shs. 8 per month and food as against Shs. 12 and food the previous year.

In 1932, labour requirements, both by Government Departments and most other non-native employers, continued to be abnormally low on account of the depression, but the cotton acreage, especially in Buganda, continued to increase and the majority of the immigrant labour was absorbed in the cultivation, harvesting and ginning of the crop. The need felt by Ganda to secure a minimum supply of cash for the payment of tax and imported necessities evidently led to increased planting in order to maintain income. Certainly no alternative could now be found in paid unskilled employment. Government which paid 9½d. a day for unskilled labour in 1928 obtained most of its supply for 4d. a day in 1932.[2] Enquiries made in Kampala in 1932 showed that unskilled labour in the building industry in some instances was receiving as little as Shs. 7 to Shs. 8 per month. Food cost them Shs. 4 to Shs. 6 per month, and those who fed themselves at Shs. 4 did so only by augmenting their supplies by working for Ganda on Sundays.

The number of immigrants from the south and south-west for 1932 is given in the Labour Inspector's report for the year as 23,262 entering from Belgian territory and 20,326 returning; in addition about 17,000 Tanganyika natives entered and about 22,000 left.

Although the cotton acreage continued to extend in Buganda, the standard of cultivation was noticeably low. According to the Annual Report of the Senior Agricultural Officer, Buganda, for 1932, these low standards were largely due to the fact that many Ganda, who could now no longer rely on their womenfolk to work in the cotton fields, were finding the expense of employing immigrant labour as much as the resulting crops were worth.[1]

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[1] It has, indeed, often happened that even when other labour has been plentiful some employers have continued to obtain men on contract from the West Nile. They have a long-established reputation in work demanding considerable muscular effort, e.g. timber-felling and stacking; and sisal and sugar-cane cutting and loading.

[2] Uganda Protectorate Blue Books, 1928, 1932.

During 1933 labour continued to be plentiful throughout the Protectorate in relation to demand. No estimate of actual numbers is available.

In 1934, restrictions were reluctantly placed on the movement into Uganda across the Kyaka Ferry of natives from the Biharamulo district of Tanganyika on account of the danger of causing a spread of sleeping sickness, and in the middle of that year a sharp fall in the number of immigrants was reported. A further cause of the falling off was said to be the imposition of strict quarantine measures in Ruanda-Urundi on account of outbreaks of typhus, smallpox and cerebro-spinal meningitis. Concern was expressed by the Department of Agriculture and by the planters, but by the end of the year it was clear that the seriousness of the drop in numbers had been exaggerated. The sleeping-sickness precautions were apparently strictly observed during the next few years, as the returns of Kyaka Ferry crossings show sharply reduced numbers of Tanganyika natives entering Uganda and, for several years, a cessation of the stream of Rundi; but many who were turned back, having come so far, undoubtedly made their way into Uganda at other, unsupervised points along the Kagera.

During 1934, in preparation for the examination by the International Labour Conference in 1935 of the methods of recruitment of labour in colonial territories, an investigation was carried out by Major N. Lowth on the effects of recruitment on the West Nile tribes. By that time, the Lugbara were supplying by far the greatest number of West Nile recruits. In 1934 the annual exodus of the main tribes from the West Nile was computed as—Lugbara, 4,908; Alur, 1,752; Okebo, 276; and Madi, 408. The numbers coming via the West Nile from the Congo were estimated as—Lugbara, 2,004; Alur, 348; Okebo, 48; Kakwa, 804; and Logo, 228.

Major Lowth concluded from his enquiry that the risk of external pressure being exerted upon the people to stimulate emigration had been removed by official encouragement of the planting of economic crops in their home areas; and that the scale of emigration, which was largely of a temporary nature, did not constitute a danger to the political and social organisation of the tribes concerned.

In 1935, according to the Annual Report of the Public Works Department, the labour supply was "well-maintained throughout the year,"[2] but the increasing requirements of the sugar industry were reflected in a large increase in the number of applications to recruit, chiefly for Ruanda labour. The Inspector of Labour stated that the supply of labour from Ruanda-Urundi if restricted would lead to a very serious shortage which would chiefly affect the cotton industry. His estimates in the 1935 Report of the Inspectorate were that "some 20,000 natives come to Uganda via Kyaka and Kakitumba" about 5,000 of whom were natives of Tanganyika Territory.

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[1] Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1932, pp. 20–21.

[2] Annual Report of the Department of Public Works, 1935, p. 11.

The prolonged depression and the ease with which casual labour of low quality had been available had had deplorable effects on labour conditions particularly in the mines in the Western Province,[1] which were of increasing importance as employers, as well as in ginneries. The 1935 report of the Inspector of Labour showed that Labour conditions throughout the Protectorate were "very far from satisfactory." An inspection the previous year of labour conditions in the ginneries had revealed a lamentable state of apathy and ignorance on the part of employers in labour matters. With a few exceptions the available accommodation for labour was unhygienic by any reasonable standard. This applied to ginneries in the Eastern Province and in Buganda. There were admitted difficulties, in that "the great majority of the natives will prefer living in filthy *nsisira*[2] rather than in a sanitary and well-organised compound, and will take a higher wage and feed themselves miserably rather than accept a low wage and be well-fed." Following this report, draft Labour Rules concerning conditions in ginneries were introduced in 1935 and, while then lacking the force of law, had a salutary effect. At the same time the whole question of the adequate inspection of labour in the colonies was being taken up by the Colonial Office,[3] and in March, 1936, it was decided that as a preliminary measure an investigation into labour conditions in the Protectorate should be undertaken by a Senior Administrative Officer. This led to the survey of working conditions and the labour supply carried out later that year by J. R. McD. Elliot, whose report appeared in 1937.[4]

The Report showed that an improvement had recently taken place in the standard of accommodation provided, particularly in the ginneries, despite the continuing absence of proper feeding arrangements, and in the mines. This was attributed to the imposition of stricter regulations and increased supervision by Government officers, and also to changing economic conditions. "Although, on the whole, there is a sufficient supply of labour at present, there seems no doubt that demand is gradually overtaking supply. The native labourer himself is beginning to realise that he has a market value and is not content, therefore, to go to the first or any job that offers."[1]

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[1] The mines were the main private employers of Ruanda labour outside Buganda. According to the Elliot Report they had an average of 8,250 unskilled labourers on their muster rolls in 1935, with an average daily turnout of 5,636. In six "representative" mines visited by Elliot in 1936, 40 per cent. of the labourers were Ruanda (Report, Paras. 29, 32).

[2] Simple beehive-shaped huts made of grass.

[3] Notably in a Circular Despatch dated 9th November, 1935.

[4] Elliot Report, 1937.

The West Nile tribes in particular were to an increasing extent coming down by themselves to seek work of their own choosing in preference to engaging in advance on contract to a particular employer.[2]

Elliot was least satisfied with the conditions he found in the Buganda coffee, tea, and rubber plantations which he visited. No casual labour received food, and it was doubtful if even contract labourers received the full ration to which they were entitled. The majority of planters were getting sufficient labour despite these deficiencies.[3] It is evident from the Report that working conditions on the Buganda estates inspected were little better in 1936 than they had been 20 years earlier.

The Report contained various recommendations for the improvement of these conditions, and dealt with methods of payment, rationing and feeding arrangements, housing, sanitation, water supplies and medical facilities. A camp-building programme was outlined for the northern route used by the West Nile tribes and, more especially, for the south-western route, frequented by the Ruanda. Existing conditions along this route were described as "thoroughly unsatisfactory."[4]

In the course of his investigations Elliot visited Ruanda-Urundi and from personal enquiries concluded that the two chief motives for the immigration were, at that time, to obtain money for the payment of taxes and to escape the unpaid labour which the inhabitants were obliged to undertake on road construction and maintenance and other government work of various kinds.

From 1936 onwards records have been kept of the number of migrants entering and departing along the two chief routes in the south and south-west although the basis of computation has not been uniform throughout.[5] The statistics, taken at their face value, seem to indicate a large increase in immigration in 1936 in comparison with the previous year. Probably larger numbers than ever before were being employed in the cotton fields. Ganda had received higher prices for their cotton in the 1936 buying season than for many years and were paying regularly employed labourers Shs. 8 to Shs. 9 per month with food (valued at between Shs. 2/50 to Shs. 4) or Shs. 10 without food. The acreage in Buganda had taken great strides in the past few years, and in 1936 stood at 695,348 acres, in contrast to 194,629 acres only six years before (1930). Buganda had finally taken the lead in acreage from the Eastern Province in 1935.

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[1] Elliot Report, 1937, para. 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, para. 71.

[3] *Ibid.*, paras. 53,59, 60.

[4] *Ibid.*, Para. 104.

[5] *Cf.* Appendix A, I. Table I. Table II of this Appendix shows comparative figures derived from Belgian sources, and Table III contains statistics of movement along the Northern Route during the same period (1936–1951).

In 1937, a year of economic expansion and complaints of labour shortage (despite large numbers of immigrants estimated to have entered the country), the Government decided to appoint a full Committee of Enquiry before coming to conclusions on the Elliot Report.

The Committee's terms of reference were to estimate the supply of voluntary unskilled labour necessary in each month of the year for each industry (including Government undertakings); to find out the numbers employed, showing seasonal fluctuations, and the areas of recruiting; and to ascertain the methods of obtaining and utilising labour and the conditions of employment, and the tendency of labourers to settle on estates or elsewhere away from their homes. The Committee was also to recommend any measures "not inconsistent with Government's policy . . . which might be taken by employers and by administrative and legislative action to improve the present position."[1]

The main principles of Government policy with regard to the employment of unskilled labour were placed before the Committee. No native was to be prevented or discouraged from hiring out his labour, except where restrictions became necessary to prevent the spread of diseases or to ensure that the general well-being of a community was not jeopardised by an undue exodus of males; on the other hand there could be no question of compulsion, or of withholding opportunities to natives to grow economic crops in areas suitable for their production. No action would be taken to prevent labourers from settling permanently in areas outside their districts of origin, provided they became liable to the same taxation and tribal obligations as the natives in the district in which they settled.[2] Finally, the conditions under which labour was employed would necessarily continue to be matters of concern to Government and would be controlled, if necessary, by legislation.[3]

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[1] 1938 Labour Commission Report, para. 2.

[2] The granting of certain concessions to migrant labourers in the matter of taxation was, however, under consideration.

[3] 1938 Labour Commission Report, loc. cit.

The Committee found that these principles were accepted by non-native employers "not as an unwilling acquiescence in a Government decision, but from a conviction that Uganda has already passed the stage when direct action to induce the labourer to seek employment might yield any useful results . . ."[1] Employers did not fail to comment upon "the deplorable inefficiency and unreliability of so many of the labourers offering for work." But there was a general realisation that only the employer could break the vicious circle created by inefficiency and low standards of wages and of conditions of employment.[2]

Buganda's exceptional position emerged clearly from the Committee's analysis of the labour situation throughout the Protectorate. The employing departments of both the Native and Protectorate Governments in Buganda, and likewise the chief non-native enterprises (which, apart from the mines, continued to be located mainly in Buganda), were heavily dependent on labour from outside the Protectorate.[3] In the other provinces the labour force of the Public Works Department and of the native administrations was chiefly recruited from the local population. In Buganda, on the other hand, unskilled labour for road-work and construction was largely provided by immigrants. By the Buganda Luwalo Law of 1930[4] it had become possible for any Ganda to commute the old *luwalo* obligation of one month's free labour for the native authority by a money payment, and revenue from this source enabled the Buganda Government to draw on the large numbers of immigrants available. The other distinctive feature of the employment structure in Buganda was, as has been pointed out, the extent to which Africans employed Africans in agriculture. This was nowhere paralleled outside Buganda. The Committee estimated that 50,000 immigrants were absorbed in this way.[5]

The two principal areas exporting unskilled labour continued to be the West Nile District and the adjacent regions of the Belgian Congo and Sudan; and Ruanda-Urundi and certain bordering localities in Kigezi. In addition, the Report of the Committee noted as subsidiary sources of supply within the Protectorate the Samia county of the Budama District; the Ankole and Bugishu Districts, and, to a small extent, Bunyoro and Toro. Of these, Ankole was then the most important, supplying Buganda with 10,000 labourers in 1937. Tanganyika contributed to the flow from the south, while Kenya supplied a relatively small number

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[1] 1938 Labour Commission Report, para. 18.

[2] *Ibid.*, para. 19.

[3] *Ibid.*, paras. 44–46.

[4] *Laws of the Uganda Protectorate*, Revised Edition, 1935, Vol. VI, pp. 1,500–3.

[5] 1938 Labour Commission Report, paras. 59–60.

(about 2,000 to 2,500) of Jaluo and Bantu Kavirondo to the Eastern Province during the cotton ginning season.[1]

It is noteworthy that the Committee found wages to be only then (1938) approaching those paid before the slump, despite the fact that the cost of living had in the meantime increased.[2] This had been referred to by the Provincial Commissioner (Northern Province) in his report for 1937 as "possibly largely responsible for the periodic epidemics of labour shortage."[3] The Committee, however, did not consider that the short-fall of unskilled labour had recently been of serious dimensions, and it was, in fact, a striking feature that despite the very substantial expansion in peasant production of economic crops wage labour had been readily forthcoming to meet "the extraordinary demands which have arisen in recent years, particularly in the Kampala to Jinja zone." Unfortunately, however, this labour had been increasingly derived from outside Uganda.[4]

The Committee estimated that the labourers actually employed by the Government and native administrations and in the principal non-native industries of the Protectorate amounted to a monthly average of 83,200.[5] This represented an apparent deficiency of 13 per cent. in industry as a whole (apart from cotton ginning for which the proper estimates of requirements were not available). But the figures for estimated labour deficiencies were regarded by the Committee as having a relative, rather than an absolute significance; they showed that in the Protectorate as a whole the mines were finding labour the most difficult to obtain, and ginneries and the Government and native administrations the least.

The Committee supported previous proposals for the establishment of camps along the Ruanda labour routes and other measures to mitigate the hardships of the journey for the Ruanda once they had entered the Protectorate.[6]

It considered that employers had comparable responsibilities towards the immigrants at their places of work and that "large scale non-native industries must expect to have to fill their labour requirements from non-local sources, and should therefore aim at securing a resident labour force by offering facilities for the workers to make a comfortable home," notably by recruitment under arrangements whereby the man might be accompanied by his wife and family and in time enjoy a more interesting "village life" than he usually experienced in the existing types of accommodation. By such means the formation of a class of workers exclusively dependent on wages would be assisted, and the Committee considered that with due precaution this should be encouraged.[1]

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[1] 1938 Labour Commission Report, paras. 47–53.

[2] *Ibid.*, para. 92.

[3] Annual Report of the Provincial Commissioner (Northern Province) on Native Administration, 1937, p. 27, para. 17.

[4] 1938 Labour Commission Report, para. 154.

[5] *Ibid.*, paras. 34–39.

[6] *Ibid.*, paras. 204–212.

The Government's Statement of Conclusions on the Report appeared in 1940, agreeing that conditions along the Ruanda labour routes must be improved, and one experimental camp was established at Mbarara in that year. But Government was not prepared to encourage—even "cautiously"—the formation of a class of workers exclusively dependent on wages, on account of the heavy additional wage and social-service costs entailed, although willing "to guide it, and to control it as far as possible in order that bad working or living conditions may not be avoidably created."[2]

There was a sudden large reduction of immigration from Ruanda-Urundi in the first two months of the Second World War, due, it appears, partly to fears of conscription on the part of the immigrants, and also to a coincidental tightening up of sleeping sickness precautions by the Tanganyika authorities at Kyaka Ferry. By the end of the year, however, the flow had resumed normal proportions. A few months later, there were fears of an unemployed surplus of immigrant labour. This did appear, despite the war-time calls on the resident population, during 1942. The low price of cotton in 1941 was followed by a sharp fall throughout the Protectorate in the acreage planted. In the succeeding year in Buganda the decrease was from 481,966 acres in 1941 to 307,154 acres in 1942. Once again the problem of the existence of half-starving unemployed immigrants in the centre of Buganda arose, with all its implications from the medical point of view. A strike at the sugar factory at Lugazi and the investigation which followed threw into relief the dangerous potentialities of the situation, and caused the Labour Advisory Committee which had recently been created[3] to concentrate its attention during 1942 and 1943 on the problems raised by the influx of Ruanda labour.

The Labour Advisory Committee was again concerned with the evils which had long characterised this movement of labour, both along the routes and at its termini in the employment centres in

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[1] 1938 Labour Commission Report, paras. 157–159, 185–197.

[2] Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Labour Situation in the Uganda Protectorate, 1938—Statement of Conclusions by Government, 1940, pp. 1–2.

[3] Its creation in November, 1941 (under a slightly different title) followed recommendations by the 1938 Committee and also reflected the insistence of the Colonial Office on a more critical supervision of Labour conditions throughout the colonial empire.

Buganda,[1] and requested the Inspector of Labour and a Medical Officer to carry out a further factual investigation and to try to obtain the views of the Belgian authorities on the migration to Uganda and their probable attitude to any control measures that might be proposed. Their report—the "Earl-Hett" Report—appeared in 1943 as App. III to the Second Report of the Labour Advisory Committee.

The visit to Ruanda-Urundi made it clear, apparently for the first time, that the Belgian authorities—whatever may have been their views in earlier years—now adopted a neutral attitude towards the migratory movements across the frontier. This continues to be the Belgian position.[2]

The Vice-Governor General gave a frank answer when asked why the Ruanda sought employment in Uganda. He gave the following reasons: (i) work in Uganda was generally easier than in Ruanda and the labour was not subject to what he referred to as "discipline"; (ii) wages in Uganda were higher; (iii) forced work at low wages was unpopular and work in the swamps was very arduous.[3]

The Labour Advisory Committee recorded their "complete acceptance of the main proposal advanced in the Earl-Hett Report that to ensure reasonable food, shelter and medical care for incoming and outgoing labour, rest camps should be constructed at suitable intervals along the labour routes."[4] This chain of rest camps was to be between the main points of entry at Merama Hill (Kakitumba Bridge) and Kyaka Ferry, through Mbarara and Masaka, as far as Kampala. Main camps were to be of permanent materials, and linked together by smaller temporary camps at intervals of approximately a day's march.[5] Post-war experience did not in fact justify the assumption that the travellers would continue to make the whole of their long journeys on foot. Since the end of the last war bus travel has been increasingly common, and the camp building programme was revised in 1947. Main camps have now been constructed at Merama Hill, at Kyaka and Mutukula near the Kagera River Ferry, and at Mbarara and Masaka; but the proposed intermediate camps have been reduced in number to four, consisting mainly of portable aluminium huts.

The Labour Advisory Committee turned down proposals in the

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[1] Annual Report of the Inspectorate of Labour, 1942, pp. 1–2. Second Report of the Labour Advisory Committee: Organisation of the South-Western Labour Migration Routes, 1943, p. 6, para. 10.

[2] The Acting Vice-Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, December, 1951.

[3] Second Report of the Labour Advisory Committee—Organisation of the South-Western Labour Migration Routes, 1943, p. 18, para. 12.

[4] Second Report of the Labour Advisory Committee, p. 5, para. 9.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 8–11, paras. 11–14.

Earl-Hett Report for controlling the immigration by a system of selective admission at the border because of the impracticability of keeping a close watch along the lengthy open frontier and the great administrative problems which a system of registration would involve. There was also the serious danger (often referred to in connection with earlier proposals) that any such close control would frighten the immigrants away, and the fact that any such measures would require the concurrence of the Belgian authorities.[1]

The Earl-Hett Report again referred to health problems and in particular to the high death rates on one sugar estate due to the poor physique of the Ruanda. This was attributed to the prevailing conditions in Ruanda-Urundi, the effect of the journey from Ruanda-Urundi to the estate, and the practice (in the case of casual labour) of giving money in lieu of food.

The same report, however, contained an interesting reference to the potentialities of Ruanda as strong, healthy workers under a suitable dietary regime and good working conditions.[2] An experiment carried out over several months in 1938 during the building of the Kampala railway station had led, strikingly, to similar conclusions.[3]

At the end of 1943 famine conditions in Ruanda-Urundi again threatened to send many thousands of Ruanda over the border (as was the case in 1928) and it was decided to close the frontier in order to protect food supplies in Uganda. It had been the main principle of agricultural policy during the war to make Uganda self-sufficient in food and to produce, in addition to coffee and cotton, a surplus of maize, sugar, sesame, groundnuts and other foodstuffs for export. These demands, in a year of exceptional drought in Uganda itself, were responsible for the reluctant decision to take emergency measures. The ban on movement was enforced on both sides of the boundary and was fairly effective. A few months later, the differing interests of the Uganda and Belgian authorities in re-opening the migrant routes led to a fruitful meeting between the Vice-Governor-General of the Belgian territory and a representative of the Protectorate Government.

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[1] Second Report of the Labour Advisory Committee, p. 6, para. 10a.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 14, para. 5.

[3] Agricultural Survey Committee: Nutrition Report No. 3—Unskilled Labour. The Effect of Dietary and other Supplements on the Health and Working Capacity of Banyaruanda Labourers. (Entebbe), 1939. A more recent testimony was given in an address to the Conseil du Gouvernement du Congo Belge on 30th July, 1952, in which the Governor-General (M. Pétillon) commended to other Congo employers the labour methods of the Union Minière du Haut Katanga:

> "... le rendement du travailleur est conditionné, dans une très large mesure, par la manière dont il est nourri, logé, encadré, considéré. À ceux qui en douteraient, il suffirait de citer le cas des Banyaruanda reputés, dans leur pays, comme constituant une exécrable main-d'oeuvre et qui, transplantés dans les mines du Katanga, y sont qualifiés non seulement de bons mais d'excellents travailleurs. L'explication, le Mwami Mutara nous la donne lorsqu'ayant visité ses hommes sur place, il déclare ne pas les avoir reconnus, tellement ils s'étaient physiquement developpés et avaient pris conscience de leur personnalité."

These war-time exchanges—the first of their kind—paved the way for regular meetings which have been taking place since 1948 between the Uganda Labour Department (which was re-established in 1943), representatives from Tanganyika Territory and members of the Ruanda-Urundi Administration. In the course of these discussions all labour matters of common interest have been fully and freely discussed in an atmosphere of cordial goodwill and co-operation. For example, the marked falling off in the numbers of immigrants which the 1950 records indicated was readily explained by the Belgian representatives, who gave the reasons as the general rise in wages in Ruanda-Urundi, the commutation of labour dues, the rise in the price of native-grown coffee, and the devaluation of the pound.

Post-war economic development in Uganda has been largely based on the Worthington Plan published in 1947.[1] The Plan envisaged the raising of African living standards over a period of about 50 years to a level which might be expected to lead to a stabilisation of the population of Uganda at about 10 million. The immediate purpose of the Plan, with this ultimate object in view, was to increase the productivity of the country during the next 10 years "at a rate much higher than population."[2] Although the main effort was to be concentrated on the expansion of primary production, the development of secondary industry was visualised as an important auxiliary line of development.[3] Since 1948, however, when the Project Report for the Owen Falls Hydro-Electric scheme was accepted, preparations have actually begun for the establishment of textile, chemical, cement and metal industries based on cheap power supplies. These developments at Jinja, Tororo and elsewhere are providing new tests of the adequacy of labour supplies for the implementation of capital development programmes. The fulfilment of these new demands for labour must clearly not be at the expense of the supplies on which Ganda cultivators have become dependent, at least for some years ahead, since the size of the cotton and coffee crops must continue to be a controlling factor in the rate at which capital and recurrent expenditure can be permitted to expand.

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[1] E. B. Worthington, *A Development Plan for Uganda*, 1946, published 1947.

[2] *Ibid.*, para. 18.

[3] *Ibid.*, para. 138, *cf. infra*, Ch. VIII.

It has not proved possible to establish a precise measure of the degree of correlation between the numbers of immigrants entering the country and the acreage of cotton planted or the extent of the crop. It is probable, however, in view of the concern the Ganda have always shown in recent times whenever numbers have shown a sharp fall, that the cotton crop in Buganda will tend to increase or decrease, other things being equal, and unless cotton prices fall to a very low level, according to the number of immigrant labourers available.[1]

The evidence from both sides of the frontier seems to indicate that although there may be variations in the flow from year to year one way or the other, the voluntary influx from Ruanda-Urundi will continue on a large scale while conditions in Bugunda remain as attractive as they have been. These conditions are discussed in detail in Chapters IV and V.

It suffices to say at this point that the basic cause of the emigration from Ruanda-Urundi is the extreme density of the agricultural population and to this most of the other contributory factors discussed in Chapter III ultimately lead back. This density of population the Belgian Plan Décennal is unlikely to reduce.[2]

One significant factor which has in the past exerted an independent influence on the migrations has been the Congo franc-sterling exchange-rate (affecting, as it does, the number of francs obtained for money earnings taken into Ruanda-Urundi and also to some extent the relative prices of goods in Uganda and Belgian territories.) Although only one of the factors influencing the size of the migratory outflow from Ruanda-Urundi, a change in the fixed rate of exchange between the franc and sterling has generally been followed by a broad movement in the size of the flow in the direction that might be expected: an increase in years when the franc has been relatively depreciated in comparison with sterling, and a decrease at times when sterling has been depreciated. Thus the later twenties, which were years of acute food shortage in Ruanda-Urundi and of heavy immigration into Uganda, were also a period when the franc is considered to have been undervalued.[3] The position was reversed by the British departure from the gold standard in September, 1931, which Belgium did not imitate until March, 1935. There is undoubtedly a connection between this and the marked drop in immigration between 1931 and 1935, despite other influences working in the same direction and in particular the sharp fall in the level of wages paid by Uganda employers. In 1936, the year following the Belgian abandonment of the gold standard, the numbers recorded, according to the Annual Report of the Labour Department of that year, were "far in excess of previous years." Similar broad changes in the flow can also be traced following the changes in the franc-sterling parity which took place in September, 1939, June, 1940 and September, 1949. On any reasonable assumptions, however, as to possible future variations in parity, it seems justifiable to regard the exchange-rate as subsidiary to the major forces at work.

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[1] It might also be found, however, that the Ganda, whose readiness to assimilate European culture has always been remarked upon, would react to *very high* cotton prices, if sustained, by increased cultivation even despite a falling off in immigration. A more comprehensively "Western" way of life might suddenly appear to many to be within reach of attainment, and to be worth working hard for by their own efforts. There are indications that recent experience in the Gezira is suggestive in this respect.

[2] *Plan Décennal pour le Développement Économique et Social du Ruanda-Urundi* (Brussels), 1951, pp. 5–15, p. 333.

[3] H. L. Shepherd, *The Monetary Experience of Belgium*, 1914–36, p. 173.

Perhaps the most important question suggested by a historical study is the extent to which the proportion of settled immigrants to labourers is likely to increase. From as early as 1930 there has been a tendency for some of the Ruanda to settle and the 1938 Committee obtained data showing that in the first half of 1937 there were 28,104 non-Ganda in Buganda "settled in homesteads" of which 7,649 (27·2 per cent.) were natives of Ruanda-Urundi; there were also 16,215 non-Ganda who had been working on Buganda plantations for two years or more and of these 3,922 (24·2 per cent.) were from Ruanda-Urundi.[1] The extent of settlement of recent years and the areas where settlement has been thickest are discussed in Chapter IV.

Another significant question concerns the form taken by the classic conflict of interests between landowner and tenant in the particular circumstances in Buganda and the effect which the increasing settlement of foreign tenants has on this opposition of view-points. This aspect is described in detail in Chapter V.

There was a tendency in the past to regard the settlement of Ruanda in Buganda with a favourable eye from the point of view of labour supplies,[1] but there is the obvious possibility that the settled immigrant may begin to be able to close the circuit between his wants and their satisfaction in a way which may make it unlikely that he will want to continue to work as a labourer. If so, he may possibly add to the prosperity of the country by increasing the annual output of cotton and coffee, but the Ganda peasant might prefer to see less general prosperity and more certainty that land will be available for his children. These questions are discussed in the chapter[2] describing the forms of land-holding available to

[1] *Cf.* e.g., Elliot Report, para. **87**.
[2] Chapter V *infra*

foreigners and the inducements which they give to landowners to give plots to immigrants.

Despite the effects which the extent of settlement may be expected to have on the general availability of unskilled labour, so long as the pattern of immigration conforms to the established tradition whereby the migrant from Ruanda-Urundi pays several visits to Buganda before settling, there is likely to be a supply of casual labour available for both Ganda and non-African employers. Moreover, despite the obvious importance of the Ruanda element in the labour streams converging on Buganda, the various subsidiary sources of labour from within the Protectorate are very substantial, as the tribal analysis of employment in Chapter IV demonstrates, and a reduction in the Ruanda component would not necessarily imply a similar reduction in these internal supplies. Unfortunately, apart from records from the West Nile District, statistics of these internal movements have always been difficult to obtain; but the Annual Report of the Labour Department for 1951 illustrates the present importance of these subsidiary flows. An estimate based on road counts shows approximately 29,000 men coming out from Kigezi and 14,000 from Western Ankole during the year.[1]

The ready but fluctuating supply of immigrant Ruanda labour, though well suited to the needs of most Ganda employers, has tended in the past to depress conditions of employment in non-African enterprises. Its poor quality, impermanence and willingness to accept inferior conditions of pay and work, have tended to hold down the level of wages and made employers unwilling to risk a large outlay on accommodation, welfare and training. It was said in 1945, for example, that certain employers, instead of concentrating on trying to retain their existing labour by making conditions more attractive, were engaged in competitive attempts to secure fresh supplies of Ruanda immigrants and were trying to bring in raw tribesmen from areas more and more remote from the place of employment.

It cannot be said that such attitudes have entirely disappeared, although the Labour Department, supported by the comprehensive Uganda Employment Ordinance of 1946, has done much to educate employers in the past few years. To judge only from documentary evidence, substantial employers in Uganda could learn much from Belgian methods of selected family recruitment on long contract and the high standards of accommodation, feeding, training and output which these methods encourage.[2]

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[1] Elliot Report, para 126.

[2] *Cf.*, e.g. Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, 2nd Edition, 1948, pp. 523–26.

CHAPTER III

THE TRAVEL ROUTES AND THE TRAVELLERS

A. I. RICHARDS

THE TRAVEL ROUTES.

Immigrants reach Buganda by a number of well-known routes. These routes seem to have been well established as long as 20 to 30 years ago, and, in fact, the number of roads which give easy access to the country are limited by geographical features. For those coming from the south-west, for instance, the Kagera river, which forms a natural boundary between Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika and Uganda, can only be crossed at certain fixed points where there are ferries, bridges or fords. Again, the volcanic mountain ranges along the Kigezi border of Uganda must be crossed by a pass, in this case the Kanaba Gap, through which the main road leads to Kabale and on into Buganda. Bus services and recruiters' lorries run down the main roads and this further canalises the traffic of immigrants.

The immigrant routes have been brought under more and more careful supervision by the Government of Uganda in recent years. Customs posts stand at the Protectorate boundaries and a series of camps have been built along the roads. Here immigrants can shelter for the night, find water and firewood, and, since 1950, free rations. The travellers are counted at selected camps, at river crossings and on roads[1] themselves, and it is thus that the monthly averages of men, women and children entering and leaving the country are estimated.

There are, of course, fluctuations in the numbers using the alternative routes to such centres as Masaka, and changes in the flow of traffic through one or another. For instance, a report made to the Inter-Territorial Committee of Labour Officers in 1951 mentions a new travel route through Biharamulo which was apparently only used that year. During the survey, immigrants avoided the Kyaka Ferry camp for a fortnight or so for various reasons at the beginning of 1951. Most of the Government camps now consist of portable aluminium huts which can be moved at will if need be, but nevertheless, for the reasons given, the present points of entry are likely to continue to be the most widely used.

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[1] The "road checks" mentioned in the Labour Reports.

The Labour Department has always recognised that there are a number of irregular methods of entering Uganda which travellers use if there have been rumours of danger on the main paths. Tales of customs officials becoming stricter or of recruiting agents lying in wait for travellers become current along one of the routes and the migrants scatter along bush paths for the time being. (*Cf.* migrants' statements given on p. 60.) There seem also to be a considerable number of immigrants carried illicitly by African lorry drivers who have no licence to do this work. This traffic passes chiefly over Kakitumba bridge. The pirate lorries put down their passengers one side of the bridge, drive over empty and pick up their cargo at some agreed point on the other side. The practice is said to date from 1945–47 when returning soldiers used war gratuities to purchase second-hand lorries.[1] However, in spite of these irregular methods of travel it is probable that by far the greater number of the immigrants use the recognised routes, since they cannot get the advantages of camps or other amenities unless they do so. The fares charged by the regular bus services are also much cheaper than those of the illicit lorries.

There are three main immigrant routes into Buganda. These are now described in the Labour Reports as follows: (*a*) the South-West Route from Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi; (*b*) the Northern Route from the West Nile and the Sudan; (*c*) the Eastern Route which carries the immigrants from the Eastern Province of Uganda and the Kavirondo district of Kenya.[2] By far the heaviest traffic goes along the South-West Route. For instance, in 1950 62,086 immigrants and 52,337 emigrants (men, women and children) travelled along the South-West Route as distinct from 21,677 immigrants and 19,978 emigrants who came down from the north.[3] The proportion of south-western to northern immigrants is thus nearly three to one, a ratio which is to be expected in view of the predominance of Ruanda and Rundi in the total population of Buganda. (See Chapter IV.)

The South-West Route.

Travellers from Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi enter Uganda by one of the four main roads. They can use either of the three main crossings over the Kagera river or the Kakitumba river which joins it at the junction of the Ruanda-Urundi, Tanganyika and

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[1] *Cf.* Annual Report of the Labour Department for 1949, para. 32. Personal observation by Powesland.

[2] There appear to be no organised routes from the east and the Labour Department publishes no figures.

[3] Communication from the Labour Commissioner's Office, 1951.

Uganda borders. These are, from east to west, Kyaka Ferry, under the control of the Tanganyika Government, and Mutukula camp, a short distance over the Uganda border; Murongo Ferry, also in Tanganyika; or Kakitumba bridge with a Belgian customs post at one end and a British one at the other, with a Government transit camp, Merama Hill, about one-and-a-half miles up the road on the Uganda side. Further north there is the Kabale road over the mountain pass which leads from Ruanda-Urundi into Kigezi and hence to Mbarara. *cf.* Map 1, page 3.

Migrants using all these four points of entry ultimately converge on Masaka township, the centre of the fertile county of Buddu, which absorbs many of the foreign labourers and which is on the main road to Kampala and to Kyagwe with its sugar factories and other plantations. The term "South-West Route" is applied to all these four methods of entering Uganda.

Figures taken in 1950 show that the heaviest traffic in that year passed through Kyaka Ferry[1]:—

Kyaka Ferry	53,144 (immigrants and emigrants)
Kabale (from March, 1950 only)	20,434 (,, ,, ,,)
Merama Hill	5,959 (,, ,, ,,)
Ruti	11,824[2](,, ,, ,,)

The migrants using the South-West Route mainly come from Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika, but they are joined at Kabale or Mbarara by men and women from the Kigezi district of the Protectorate or from South-West Ankole who also make their way to Masaka to find work in Buganda.

Figures taken in April, 1951, show that 52 per cent. of the immigrants using these routes come from Ruanda-Urandi, 14 per cent. from Tanganyika, 24 per cent. from Kigezi and 10 per cent. from South-West Ankole; that is to say, 66 per cent. non-Protectorate natives to 34 per cent. from within Uganda.[3] In the sample figures taken at Kyaka Ferry and Kabale camp respectively, the following tribal distribution is shown:—

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[1] Many immigrants from Tanganyika apparently take the bus to Bukoba and there board the lake steamer to Port Bell or some other landing place on the north side of the lake, and these were not counted in the annual figures until 1951, when they were given for the first time in the Annual Report of the Labour Department, *cf.* Appendix A.

[2] Information from the Labour Commissioner's Office. Kabale camp was only opened in 1950 and seems to be taking much of the traffic that formerly went through Merama Hill.

[3] Communication from the Labour Commissioner's Office. The total number using the routes in April, 1951, was 16,052.

	Ruanda	Rundi	Ziba	Zinza	Ha	Subi
Kabale	87%	12%	1%	—	—	—
Kyaka	7%	84%	—	1%	3%	5%

Cf. Appendix B.

Some of the migrants still do the journey on foot as in the old days and parties of Ruanda and Rundi walking single file with light head loads are a common sight on the main Mbarara-Masaka-Kampala roads. The walkers appear to do anything from 10 to 25 miles a day according to whether they are travelling alone or encumbered by women and small children. It is also a regular practice for the migrants to stop for a day or so *en route* in order to work for Ganda farmers in return for their food. Immigrants who say they have spent periods like two-and-a-half months to reach the centre of Buganda from Tanganyika have probably moved slowly across the country in this way.

It is difficult to estimate at all exactly the time taken on journeys by those who come and go on foot. Along the Kabale route, the distance from the Ruanda-Uganda border to Masaka, the centre for the whole Buddu area, is 215 miles; to Kampala 301 miles; to Lugazi, the centre for the Kyagwe area, 330 miles; or to Mityana, the *saza* headquarters of Singo, with its tea gardens and its stretches of sparsely cultivated land, 303 miles.

The journey a man takes from his village in Ruanda to the Uganda border is harder to estimate because much of the walking may be done along inter-village roads. Suffice it to say that the journey from Nyanza, the source of the largest number of migrants in our sample, was generally reckoned to take seven days. One man had done the journey on foot in three days but called it "a very hard walk," whereas parties of women and children had taken eleven or twelve days to reach the border. On the longer journeys mileage ceases to be the only factor to consider since the travellers stop on the road to work for their food once their provisions have become exhausted. It is, however, worth recording that the average time taken by seven men to go from Nyanza to Masaka was 2·7 weeks, while the longest time recorded for this distance was six weeks. Three travellers took an average of 3·5 weeks to reach Lugazi, another 115 miles further on.

By the Kyaka Ferry route the distance from the Tanganyika-Uganda border to Masaka is 74 miles and to Kampala 158 miles. Of 73 migrants questioned about their journey by this route, five men travelling from Muhinga, the centre from which the majority in our sample came, to Kampala took an average of 4·5 weeks and 4 women an average of 6·5 weeks on foot. From Ruyigi 7 men took an average of 3·4 weeks and from Ngozi to Kampala 2 women both took 4 weeks to reach their destination. The longest time taken by a woman travelling along this route to Kampala was 10 weeks while a man took 6 weeks to reach Masaka. It will be seen, therefore, that, though the journey to Kampala is shorter by this route, most of the immigrants take longer to reach the Uganda border than do those coming from Ruanda to Kabale.

The time taken on all these journeys seems to have changed very little over the period for which the immigrants were questioned, i.e. 1931 to the present day.

However, buses started carrying passengers into Uganda from as early as 1921 and they now run, however irregularly, on all the main routes. They are crowded to bursting point and travel slowly. They start and stop at unfixed times so that unwary passengers are often left behind at the camps or bus stops. The buses are rarely serviced and frequently break down. They do, nevertheless, in time convey the stream of immigrants from the borders of Uganda to the populous centres of Buganda itself, and thus reduce the time of travel from the frontier to, say, Kampala to two or three days. Emigrants often use part of their earnings on bus fares to take them at any rate through Uganda, but even immigrants, who are presumably shorter of funds, travel this way on occasion, since it is said to be the custom to borrow the money for the bus fare from a returning migrant and to pay it back with a high rate of interest at the end of the trip to Buganda.

The improvement in the health of the immigrants which has been noted in recent medical reports is said to be due to the increasing use of these Indian and African-owned buses, and it is often stated that migrants nearly all travel in some form of motor transport. These assumptions are not borne out by the figures collected at Kabale and Kyaka Ferry. To begin with, no recognised bus service runs from the centre of Ruanda-Urundi to Kabale and it is common for immigrants to walk up the mountain pass to reach this camp and then to take a bus for the lonely stretch of territory between Kabale and Mbarara, country that is still covered by game. Nor are there regular buses running from Urundi and Tanganyika to Kyaka Ferry and travellers frequently walk by various routes till they reach the Uganda border.

At Kabale 21 per cent. of the emigrants who were asked their method of travel had come on foot all the way from Buganda, whereas 59 per cent. had travelled partly on foot and partly by bus. Of the male emigrants and immigrants taken together, 21 per cent.

TRAVEL ON FOOT

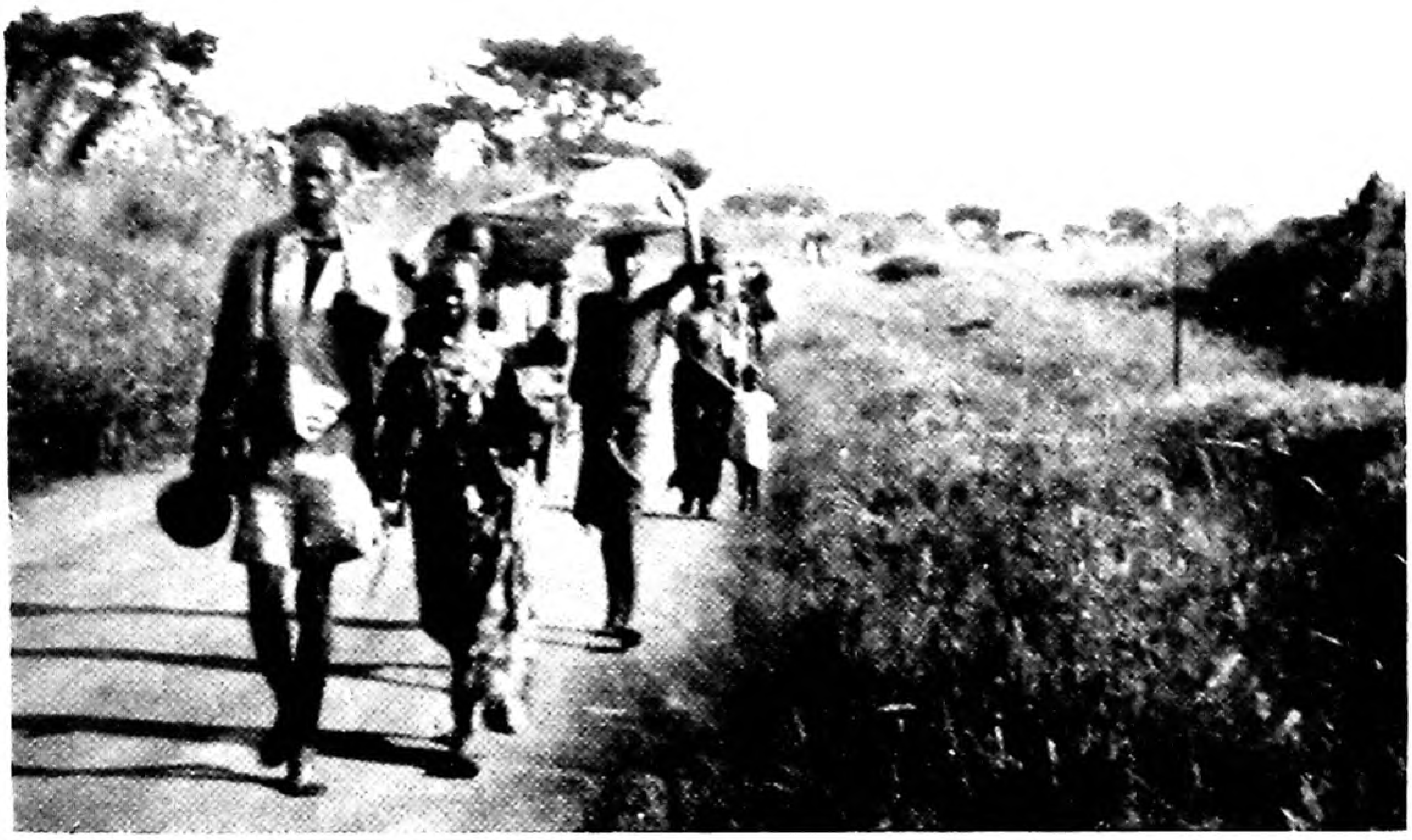

PLATE II. Immigrant families on the Masaka-Kampala Road.

PLATE III. Immigrant travellers nearing Kampala.

PLATE IV. Women and children waiting for a bus.

PLATE V. Selecting the random sample for interview.

had travelled on foot on two successive journeys, 28 per cent. had gone partly on foot and partly by bus on both trips, while 46 per cent. had made their first journey on foot and their second by bus. In the case of the women, 6 per cent. had gone on foot on two successive journeys, 30 per cent. partly on foot and partly by bus both times, and 56 per cent. on foot the first journey and on foot and by bus the second. Travellers through Kyaka Ferry seemed to walk more commonly than those through Kabale camp. The migrants reach the ferry through a variety of different routes rather than one main road on which a bus service could operate easily. The majority seem to take the bus only when they reach the border, or at Mutukula, the camp two miles over the Uganda side; 78 per cent. of the men who passed through this camp had travelled on foot on two successive journeys, while 12 per cent. had travelled on foot the first time and partly by bus or steamer and partly on foot the second, and 4 per cent. had travelled partly on foot and partly by bus and train both times. Of the women, 21 per cent. had travelled on foot on two successive journeys, while 36 per cent. had travelled on foot the first time and partly on foot and partly by bus or steamer the second time, and 36 per cent. had travelled partly on foot and partly by bus or steamer both times.

It must be remembered, however, that the migrants travelling on pirate lorries do not stop at the camps, and for this reason the total number of those using motor transport is certainly higher than the sample figures indicate.

The cost of the journey is not easy to estimate except in the case of men and women who have used the bus services. The fares they paid seem to be remembered down to the nearest cent, even after the lapse of a year or two, but money spent in buying food or complicated exchanges of work for food cannot reasonably be estimated. On the official mileage charge in 1951, an immigrant should have been able to get from Kabale to Kampala for Shs. 17/02 which might be reckoned as a fortnight's wages, and from Kyaka Ferry to Kampala for Shs. 7/90.

These fares compare favourably with the costs to voluntary migrant labourers of the journey from North-Eastern Rhodesia to the Copper Belt during the first years after the opening of the mines there.[1] Here the distance from home to town was much longer, often 400 miles, and passengers on the infrequent lorries that passed up the main Broken Hill–Abercorn road were charged Shs. 30 to Shs. 35 which was then the equivalent of three months' pay for an unskilled labourer in the rural areas and one-and-a-half months' wages for a labourer in the mines themselves. The majority of young men made the whole journey on foot to the mines. On their return, bicycles were much more commonly used than on the Uganda routes. It was, nevertheless, much more difficult to come to the towns for short visits, as is still done for instance by the Rundi to Buganda, and many men who had married young wives in Broken Hill found it impossible to afford to return to their villages once they had acquired children.

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[1] Observations made from 1930–36.

The difficulties of migrants on the South-West Route into Buganda are in fact not the official costs of the journey but the endless delays which involve the travellers in further expenses. Ganafa reported in January, 1951, that the buses between Kampala and Masaka, and Masaka and Kyaka Ferry were so few that the Ruanda passengers waited sometimes as much as a week at the bus parks. They, therefore, very often hired private buses or lorries which always cost more than the scheduled rates. On the Tanganyika side where there are so few regular bus services, the immigrants are transported by Arab shopowners in private lorries or buses from Ngara to Kyaka, the cost varying with the demand or with the power of the travellers to pay. He added, "The Banyarunda are usually cheated more in Tanganyika than in Uganda." This may account for the fact, mentioned earlier, that immigrants tend to walk to the border both on the Kabale and the Kyaka Ferry routes and to take the bus there.

What is the cost of these lengthy journeys to Buganda in terms of human fatigue or sickness? This is an important question, since the Uganda Government has expressed alarm on so many occasions at the poor physique of the Ruanda and Rundi, and the diseases to which they become subject *en route*.[1] In 1927 the Annual Report of the Medical Department spoke of "the devastating and increasing disease which threatens every caravan and trade route,"[2] and in 1936 the immigrants are described as "half-starved and debilitated by their long journey from Ruanda"[3] and deaths from dysentery, relapsing fever, spirillum fever, ulcers, malaria and starvation are recorded. Such distressing conditions are no longer recorded in the Annual Medical Reports and the improvement is thought to be due to the introduction of bus services along the routes.[4] The establishment of camps and the provision of free food rations at these camps (1950) has no doubt also eased the situation. Whatever the causes, however, the fact remains that the travellers sleeping at the transit camp at Kabale did not seem to show great signs of exhaustion. Small knots of men, women and children sat quietly waiting for accommodation or buses. They were surrounded by their worldly goods, cooking pots and mats on the way in, and by tin suitcases and bundles of blankets on the way out. On the roads the travellers look ragged and dirty, and the contrast between them and the wealthy Ganda is more and more evident as they near Kampala. The immigrants are ragged because they are poor; the emigrants because they want to save their better clothes for wear when they approach their homes. Nevertheless, the travellers did not give the impression of absolute physical exhaustion and emaciation that used to be common among travellers who had reached the end of the 400 to 500 mile trip from North-Eastern Rhodesia to the Copper Belt as seen by one of the investigators in 1934. The journey through Tanganyika to the border is probably harder than that through Kabale, and it was the opinion of Ganafa that the immigrants did show greater fatigue on this route.

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[1] *Cf.* Chap. II.

[2] Annual Report of the Medical Department, 1927, para. 11.

[3] Annual Report of the Medical Department, 1936, para. 23.

[4] Annual Report of the Labour Department, 1949, para. 12. Members of the staff of Mulago hospital confirm the fact that severe malnutrition was commoner among Ruanda and Rundi patients in earlier days than it is today. Dr. Arthur Williams tells me, however, that there is now more sickness seen in hospital among the Ruanda women and children, who are, of course, more numerous than they were 10–15 years ago. From figures collected at child

Of the women questioned at Kabale, only 8 out of 100 said they had had any bad experiences on any of their trips to Buganda. Four had had money stolen; one said she had been bewitched by a Ganda woman, and another said that in 1944 "I would have died of starvation but the labour camp gave me five days' food." The men questioned were also mainly satisfied by the conditions on the journey although a few complained of bus delays, one of a fight with a lion, and another with "the husband of a woman" he met! There is evidently a good deal of theft and injury to luggage, which is understandable to anyone who has seen the scramble for a place on one of the buses. Twelve out of 100 men reported goods stolen on the way, and one lost so much money that he had to return to work for three months. The goods seem mainly to be taken when "fighting for a bus," or "in the Kampala bus park," and there are no locked stores at such places. Many newcomers obviously fall easy victims to Kampala thugs, as is seen in such statements as "Thieves pretended to be Ganda chiefs and took our money, saying it was for tax," or "Two men came and told us it was an offence to drink water from the taps in Kampala as the Europeans would make a legal case against us. We had to give them Shs. 4 to get

welfare clinics by Dr. Welbourn, it would seem that the Ruanda children suffer severely from malaria on first arrival and suffer more from intestinal parasites than the local children, but apart from this, their ill-health must be attributed to poverty rather than to the effects of the journey.

us away," or "We were asked for poll tax at Mityana. The askaris beat us and we gave them Shs. 3 to escape."[1] These are "innocents abroad" with a vengeance.

On the whole, however, the travellers seemed rather surprisingly satisfied with their journey conditions. This may be partly the tolerance of the traveller with a fixed aim who is prepared to face a long and difficult journey before he reaches his destination, and partly the inability of many of these peasants to express their emotions in answer to a question. One woman, for instance, when asked about her journey, said, "No, I had no trouble at all on the journey. My baby died in the camp last night."

The fear of recruiting agents was very evident, whether this was justified or not. The law governing recruiting is strictly enforced and cases against recruiting companies appear in the papers from time to time, but their African employees have evidently exceeded their duties on occasion. Immigrants use such dramatic expressions as "I escaped the recruiters by the jungle route." Of 106 men who passed through Kabale camp, nine had been "threatened," "beaten" or had "fought" with the recruiters but had escaped them. Four declared that they had been taken against their will to places where they did not want to work. At Kyaka Ferry 23 had had encounters with recruiters. Of these four had merely slept in the bush to avoid them and eight were forced to go to places against their will although one had subsequently deserted and the others had escaped "after a beating." Three others complained of being forced to work for three days for nothing by the Belgian Customs—possibly in lieu of paying customs dues. Recruiting stories are common on the road and many of them are probably a survival of the terrors of old days, and not of actual conditions of the moment. Two of the incidents described were investigated and charges made. The truth of the others could not be tested. It must also be said that those who are most vehement in their indignation against the recruiting companies do not consider that they have done any injury to the company by accepting free motor transport from the borders to the sugar estates in East Uganda and then deserting on arrival, and it is estimated that 40 to 60 per cent. of those transported by the Lugazi factory do so desert.

The Northern Route.[2]

Immigrants from the north-west, whether from the Sudan, the Congo or the West Nile District of Uganda, can only cross the network of waterways made by Lake Albert and the Nile by one way, that is by steamer from Pakwach to Butiaba and thence onward by railway lorry to Masindi Port and so to Busoga; or alternatively on foot to Bujenje *Saza* in Bunyoro where tobacco is grown, or to other cotton-growing areas in Bunyoro and Buganda. Labourers recruited by the sugar estates at Lugazi and Kakira are taken by motor lorry from Butiaba to their destination.[1]

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[1] The *Uganda Herald* quoted stories of Ruanda being robbed by Ganda who gave themselves out as Government vaccinators (March, 1952).

[2] Drafted by A. W. Southall, with some information provided by J. Middleton.

Sudan and Congo labourers are said mostly to pass through Arua, and the West Nile Recruiting Organisation has its office there so that men are attested by the District Commissioner at this station. However, the minority of the immigrant males using this route are recruited, and many Alur and some Lugbara find their way from their homes direct to Pakwach and board the steamer

The distance from Arua to Pakwach is 60 miles by road, usually reckoned at two days' walk. For the highland Alur of Okoro the journey to Pakwach varies from 36 to 80 miles by road, and correspondingly less from Padyere and Jonam. A large number still walk as far as Pakwach, many of these because they are unsuccessful in getting on the bus. They often avoid all the four recognised stopping places along the bus routes through the Alur highlands, because they feel there will be crowds there and they will not be able to get on. They therefore try to board the bus at other points along the route, and if the bus goes by without stopping, they then have to walk. A few go to Pakwach by bicycle, but the main traffic in bicycles is the other way as migrants buy bicycles in Buganda with their earnings, bring them home to the West Nile, and often eventually exchange them for cattle and cash.[2]

The steamer trip occupies a whole night and part of next morning. The night voyage is made under very overcrowded conditions with barely enough room to sit on the floor. From Butiaba it is another 135 miles by road to Busunju, the most popular shopping centre in Buganda for the Alur. Nearly all take the bus from Butiaba onwards although a few bicycle and some walk as far as Hoima because the bus is full.

For those who travel to Kampala by the African bus companies there are, as on the South-West Route, many delays due to endless breakdowns and the Alur complain bitterly of discrimination against Nilotes or against non-Bantu in general. Both at Pakwach and at Butiaba or Hoima (where there is a change of buses) it is very common for Alur to get stuck for a number of days. At Pakwach the boat may be too full, and then the travellers must wait a minimum of 11 days for the next. During this time they run very short of food. By the time a man has made up his mind to pay another visit to Buganda he has little or no ready cash left beyond his fare, and not many highland Alur have effective kinship links near Pakwach. They may thus reach Bunyoro with no money for further travel, and it is quite common for them to have to spend some days working on piece work for local Nyoro in order to get enough cash to reach a more distant destination. A third-class passage on the boat from Pakwach to Butiaba costs Shs. 2/20, while the bus fare to Hoima from Butiaba is Shs. 2 and from Hoima to Busunju is Shs. 4/50, making Shs. 8/70 in all.

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[1] It is apparently quite possible to travel "unofficially" by canoe up the Nile from Jonam and across Lake Albert to Bunyoro. Some Uganda Jonam and Congo Alur of the lake shore do cross this way, but Southall thinks that for the highland Alur who have no canoes, "the incentives for by-passing the recognised route do not compensate for the trouble involved."

[2] A bicycle will exchange for a bearing cow and a heifer if it is fairly new.

It is known that Lugbara sign contracts with recruiting companies more readily than the Alur and that they have long established traditions of work at the two sugar companies in the south which are served by the West Nile Recruiting Organisation.[1] This labour is transported by bus from the lake port to its destination. Nevertheless, many Lugbara must find their way south by somewhat the same means as do the Alur, since the proportion of voluntary to recruited labour was 8,549 to 9,045 in 1950, these figures being taken from the lists for trans-shipment of immigrants from Pakwach to Butiaba and from the attestation schedules made out by the recruiting company at Arua.[2] Even at the Lugazi sugar estate the proportion of contract to "casual" Lugbara labourers is now changing and it was reckoned in the beginning part of 1952 to be 750 contract labourers to 1,255 casual labourers.

The total figures of immigrants using the Northern Route in 1950 are given as follows[3]:—

Immigrants ..	21,487 (18,334 men; 1,574 women; 1,379 children).
Emigrants ..	19,878 (17,108 men; 1,313 women; 1,457 children).

These figures used to be given by the Labour Department split up under tribal heads, i.e. Lugbara, Alur, Kakwa and "others" divided up into those of each tribe who were of Uganda origin and those from over the border in the Congo or the Sudan. The figures given for immigrants showed the following distribution in 1946[4]:—

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[1] The figures given by the Uganda Sugar Company at Lugazi for 1952 are as follows: Lugbara 2,015, Alur 78. The other main groups are Ruanda 1,508, Rundi 2,050, while contingents from other tribes are all under 700.

[2] Kindly furnished by Mr. J. Middleton.

[3] Communication from the Labour Commissioner's Office.

[4] *Ibid.*

	Uganda	Congo and Sudan	Total
Lugbara	5,086	1,092	6,178
Alur	2,069	1,204	3,273
Kakwa	416	787	1,203
Others	12	252	264

The same rough proportions of Lugbara to Alur seem to have remained fairly constant since 1942. However, the figures are now broken down differently, i.e. according to the country of origin of the immigrants rather than their tribal affiliation. In April, 1951, this breakdown was as follows[1]:—

Immigrants	Men	Women	Children	Total
West Nile ..	1,088	90	114	1,292
Congo	889	127	161	1,177
Sudan	180	41	43	264

This gives a rough proportion of Uganda-born to foreign-born immigrants of 47 to 53 per cent.

Peak figures for immigrants along the North-West Route are for the months April to June, i.e. after the April hoeing in the West Nile District. Some immigrants thus manage to sow a food crop in Buganda in May and are then ready to plant cotton in July or August. Emigrants return in greatest numbers in March or April after picking the cotton.

THE TRAVELLERS.

Ruanda are usually supposed to travel in large parties composed of members of a family or village and often with a recognised leader. Immigrants forming the Kabale and Kyaka Ferry sample were questioned on this point and it appeared that large parties are not quite as common as had been imagined, although a number of people start alone and pick up fellow travellers *en route*. At Kabale, for instance, 72 per cent. of the men travelling were going in groups of two to four. The largest group counted reached the number of nine but there were only two such groups. Thirteen per cent. of the travellers had women with them. At Kyaka Ferry the parties tended to be larger and this was attributed to the fact that these immigrants have a long walk to do through deserted country before they reach the ferry and hence they walk together for protection. On this route three men travelled alone but there were eighteen parties composed of four men, twelve composed of two, nine composed of six, nine composed of seven and the largest party consisted of thirty.

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[1] Communication from the Labour Commissioner's Office.

The number of women travelling with husbands or male relatives along these South-West Routes is considerable. Contract labourers naturally tend to travel without their wives and families, but the present tendency of immigrants to settle in Buganda means that there are numbers of wives going to join absent husbands at every camp.

Of the total number of immigrants into Uganda by the South-West Routes in April, 1951, the age and sex composition is as follows:—

	From Ruanda-Urundi	From Tanganyika Territory	From Kigezi	From S.W. Ankole
Men	5,194	1,713	2,895	1,351
Women	1,563	149	509	182
Children	1,846	479	560	241
Total	8,603	2,341	3,964	1,774

It will be seen from the 1951 figures given above that the proportion of women to men coming in from Ruanda is nearly 1 : 5, while from Tanganyika it is 1 : 11·9. These figures correspond to the picture of the shorter and more frequent visits made by the Tanganyika travellers as shown in Appendix B, Table VII. Men bring their wives for long visits and not for short ones. Men and women travelling with children were a more common sight than was expected. It may be, however, that those using the camps are more likely to be family parties than young men travelling alone. At Kabale 28 per cent. of the women counted were accompanied by one child and 26 per cent. by more than one. At Kyaka Ferry 25 per cent. travelled with one child and 20 per cent. with more than one.

Old women were not uncommon at the camps. Of the people interviewed at least three were reckoned to be over 65 and two of these had walked the whole distance from Ruanda-Urundi to Kabale. Most of these were widows who were being fetched by their sons or daughters to live in Buganda or grandmothers going to visit their grandchildren.

THE TRAVELLERS' MOTIVES.

Why do so many men and women leave their homes each year to travel 300 miles or so to work or to settle in Buganda? Some of the fundamental causes of migration as they appear to the economist have been suggested in Chapter II. The attractions of Buganda as a settlement area are discussed in the demographic analysis given in Chapter IV and in the description of methods of landholding in Chapter V. The position as it is viewed in Ruanda-Urundi itself is summarised from year to year in several of the admirable reports prepared by the Government of that country.[1] In the following pages the different motives which determine migration are expressed in the language of the migrants themselves.

Two hundred men and two hundred women in the camp samples were asked directly why they had come to work in Uganda and the same question was asked of foreigners interviewed in Ganda villages later on. There are obvious difficulties in handling this material statistically. The immigrants differed greatly in their power of articulation, more so perhaps than the people comprising a similar sample in England or America. Some of them talked with animation and evidently wanted to talk, but others gave stereotyped answers or said they left home to better themselves or because they liked Buganda better. Some of the travellers gave so much information that it was difficult to classify rigidly under such headings as "economic" or "fulfilment of kinship obligations"; others gave so little or such vague information that it was equally hard to code.

It was difficult too, to estimate the degree of accuracy of answers. Immigrants were asked their motives in leaving their homes on each successive visit and it is pretty certain that there must have been a good deal of blurring of memory as regards the first and second of a series of visits.[2] It is probable too, that a concrete objective or a dramatic event stands out in some immigrant's narrative rather than the cumulative effects of hopes and fears which are probably the real cause of pushing a man to leave his home. A man will say, for instance, "I had no clothes. I had no hoe. I had no wife. So I thought 'Let me push off!' " He may be quite unable to describe the whole process of the gradual deterioration of local conditions which finally resulted in the situation that became unbearable to him. Again a particularly angry scene with his local chief may have become dramatised in his mind for all time and quite obliterate consciousness of a long series of economic frustrations and hardships which were equally "motives for travel". The type of questionnaire used and the whole level of interpretation reached could have been greatly improved if it had been possible at the time to do some exploratory samples in Ruand-Urundi villages and to have checked what people said against what they did. As it is, we publish a statistical analysis of the motives recorded, to be read with all the caveats given above. We also add, in more definite anthropological fashion, type statements and individual instances which should give some idea of the migrant's state of mind at a given moment of time. They should reveal at least what he thinks to be true or what he is telling others is true.

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[1] See Bibliography for official Belgian publications.

[2] This procedure was thought valuable as a means of getting immigration histories.

Such a description of expressed viewpoints seems to us to have some value. The literature on African labour migration contains constant reference to men travelling from "habit" or for the sake of "adventure" to work in European concerns and the same explanation is often given of the journeys of the Ruanda and Rundi. Such statements may be accurate in regard to some areas and Southall's material on the Alur (Chapter VI) is a case in point, but it must be remembered that the very word "adventure" has emotional associations in English which make it difficult even to translate. Sample counts of travellers' motives are not often made. It is significant that out of two to three hundred men interviewed in Buganda, only one said that he wanted "to see what Uganda was like." The Ruanda and Rundi peasants are not reckoned as adventurous people as distinct from their war-like overlords, and they usually figure in the reports as shy, timid and easily scared. They certainly give that impression in the camps and the villages and most spoke of sheer economic necessity or of particularly unpleasant political or kinship obligations they wanted to avoid, rather than of desires to see European life, get a reputation for sophistication or similar motives given to Schapera when he talked to Tswana migrants to the South African towns.[1] Evidence from other parts of Africa tends also to show that Africans rarely travel long distances if they can make money under satisfactory conditions at home, as the differential rates of migration from different areas occupied by the same tribe show.[2] Further experiments in the detailed analysis of migrant labourers' motives are certainly needed.

From the tables given in Appendix B it will be seen that the economic motive was the one most frequently expressed by the immigrants passing through Kabale and Kyaka Ferry. This is to be expected from the Belgian Government's reports. The Ruanda-Urundi ten-year plan, published in 1951, states that the average density of population is the highest reached in Central Africa since it is reckoned at 71·67 per square kilometre as against an average of 4·72 in the Belgian Congo.[1] M. Pétillon, the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi, explained to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations in February, 1950, that he considered that there was an excess of 145,000 families out of a total of 780,000 and an excess of 440,000 stock on a total of 970,000. In the more populated areas there was an average of cultivable land of 1·5 hectares (3·7 acres) per family as distinct from the 2·5 hectares (6·2 acres) thought essential for cultivation and the pasture land in these districts merely allowed 1 hectare (2·5 acres) per head of cattle when it should be at least 3 hectares (7·4 acres).[2] But the heading "economic" can be split up in various ways. In this sample actual famine was mentioned in some cases; a general shortage of money as distinct from a shortage of food; or the desire for money for special objects such as tax or marriage payments—objectives characteristic of the type of African migrant whom Orde-Browne refers to as "target workers."

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[1] I. Schapera, *Migrant Labour in South Africa*, 1947, Chap. IV. It must be remembered that many of the South African peoples formerly belonged to warrior tribes and Schapera states they want to avoid the monotony of tribal life. The majority of migrants to Buganda, however, work for African farmers and often see little of European life. They live in similar conditions to those they experience at home.

[2] *Cf.* Margaret Read, *International Labour Review*, Vol. XLV, No. 6, 1942, p. 42, for accounts of differential rates of migration from six different zones in Nyasaland. Southall's account of differential emigration rates from Alur country in Chap. VI bears out the same point.

In the Kabale sample, one man and two women had originally left their country because of famine. Others said they had left home specifically to get money to pay taxes, i.e. 20 per cent. in the Kabale sample and 39 per cent. in the Kyaka Ferry sample. The taxes imposed in Ruanda-Urundi are not much higher than those in force in Uganda, although they are probably a greater burden in relation to the local opportunities for work. The Ruanda or Rundi pays an annual poll tax of 151 francs with 97 francs for each additional wife; 35 francs for a cattle tax; 1.50 francs as commuted dues to the Kings of Ruanda and Urundi respectively; 4 francs to the Provincial and Sub-Chiefs and 26 francs as a commutation of old labour dues (or 13 days a year at 2 francs a day according to present rates of pay for chief's work). This would be roughly equivalent to Shs. 30/45 a year[3] for a monogamist. Since the unskilled wages were reckoned at 286 francs a month, reckoning on a basis of a working month of 26 days, a man would be able to make Shs. 40/04 a month and could thus pay his taxes with one month's work. For an agricultural labourer the average is given as 207 francs a month

[1] Plan Décennal pour le Développement Économique et Social du Ruanda-Urundi, 1951, p. 9.

[2] Report of the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi to the Trusteeship Council, February, 1950.

[3] Calculating on an exchange rate of 100 francs to Shs. 14.

or roughly Shs. 28.[1] Exact comparisons are impossible but the taxes are at least commensurate since the Ganda peasant pays Shs. 15 poll tax; Shs. 14 commutation of labour dues (*luwalo* tax); and Shs. 1/50 medical levy, making Shs. 30/50 in all. He also pays Shs. 8/50 as "rent" to his landlord if he has a plot of land in customary tenure, making a total annual payment of Shs. 39. Minimum wages in Government employment (Kampala and Jinja) were, in 1950, Shs. 33. To this has been added a 25 per cent. cost of living allowance which has the effect of raising the level of the minimum wage to about Shs. 41/25. From the minimum wage may be deducted Shs. 13 a month if rations are provided on an approved scale, and Shs. 3 a month for housing. Hence the Ganda also pays tax at the rate of about one month's unskilled labour.

At Kabale 6 per cent. and at Kyaka Ferry 13 per cent. said they had left home specifically in order to get money for marriage payments, here given in terms of cows and calabashes of beer.

But in spite of the direct reference to the search for tax and money, the interesting feature of the answers to this questionnaire is not the predominance of target workers but the absence of them.[2] The picture gained from the Kabale and Kyaka Ferry answers is that of a people continuously in need of money to satisfy their social obligations and aspirations. The complaints were phrased in general terms such as "Our money is only enough for taxes. It causes people to be half-naked and their wives too," or "The people in Ruanda work all day long and the money they earn makes no difference because they go half-naked still," or "The peasants in Buganda are much better in every respect than the people in Ruanda-Urundi" or, more simply still, "In Nyanza the food is short and the people are poor." It must be remembered here that the immigrants from Ruanda-Urundi come almost entirely from the serf or Hutu class. Only one member of the ruling Tutsi class was interviewed in the two samples and one more was discovered in a village in Busiro. The Tutsi still mainly own the cattle in Ruanda-Urundi and several migrants complained of this, saying "There is no source of money for a man without cattle unless he can get to Usumbura" (an area of cash crop production and industrial development) "or to Rugombo or Bugarama." Rundi of the Ngozi area said it would take them four days to walk to

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[1] Rapport sur l'Administration Belge du Ruanda-Urundi, 1951, p. 352. Africans, as is well known, rarely count the rewards they get in the way of rations in giving their wages, and rations are apparently given still by European employers in two districts.

[2] As compared, for instance, with migrant labourers in Northern Rhodesia in the thirties who used to go to the copper mines to get a gun or a bicycle.

Usumbura and that therefore they might as well go to the wealthy districts of Uganda to work.[1]

Wages were also considered low as compared with those in Uganda.[2] Moreover, migrants complained that they could not get paid work other than the 2 francs a day paid for communal work or work for chiefs and this is, of course, much lower than the Uganda average wage. In any case, whatever the Ruanda-Urundi basic minimum, it compares poorly with the rewards obtained by the very short working day exacted by the Ganda farmer and hence statements like "In Ruanda we work very hard for very little pay," or "We work all day long and the money we earn makes no difference." In fact we had the impression that it was the shortness of the hours worked on Ganda farms as much as the wages earned which were motives for travel.

A number of immigrants complained of the labour they had to do for their chiefs. It is well known that the Belgian Government, alarmed by the economic condition of the territory committed to them under Mandate, introduced compulsory cultivation of food and other crops in the interests of the peasants concerned. The scheme, introduced in 1924, was reformulated in 1944 in the form of legislation permitting the Resident to impose food cultivation, anti-erosion measures, the use of manure, afforestation and other steps thought necessary to save the people from famine and other hardships.[3] "The fundamental problem in such a country has so far been, and still is, how to keep man and beast alive," said M. Pétillon to the Trusteeship Council.[4] Ordinances in different parts of the country now require the peasant to cultivate so much land, and to grow an area of manioc, groundnuts or potatoes as anti-famine measures, or to plant a fixed number of coffee trees. The chiefs are mainly responsible for enforcing these measures.

The Tutsi rulers of the country had also been in the habit of exacting labour from their subjects. Unpaid feudal labour for chiefs was prohibited in 1949, since the Belgian authorities had recognised for some time that these dues pressed heavily on the peasants and they have admitted that they were causes for migration in several reports.[1] Such work is now paid at 2 francs a day for a man or ½ franc for a woman. But here again the paid work exacted by chiefs is said to last from 7 a.m. to late in the afternoon and this compares poorly with the extraordinarily short day which Ruanda and Rundi work for Ganda farmers. Hence, statements like "I left because in Ruanda a man and his wife have to work from early morning till late at night for his chief," or "Ordinary men work for their chiefs and when they find they have nothing to wear, they leave their country to look for money." Ruanda further compare the superior position of women in Buganda with that in their own country. It appears that women there have separate gardens from their husbands and may also be asked to grow compulsory crops on them, and that women as well as men are liable to communal labour.[2] A number of men complained that their wives were asked to carry out their obligations for them as well as their own when they were away, and that they had returned to fetch their wives to Buganda for that reason. An old man seen at Buddu had made his first journey to Uganda at the age of about 60 because he was angry when his wife was punished by a chief for not doing this type of work.

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[1] The "Plan décennal" envisages increased coffee production per head of the population, the development of cotton on the Ruzizi plain and industrial projects. These with soil erosion measures, and the swamp drainage schemes already in operation should of course increase the earning possibilities of the Ruanda peasant considerably.

[2] Informants who had travelled to Uganda earlier than 1950 gave figures of Shs. 13 a month in Nyanza, Rukira and Ngozi districts and these were counted under the heading of original motives for travel.

[3] Rapport sur l'Administration Belge du Ruanda-Urundi, 1951, p. 84.

[4] Report of the Governor of Ruanda-Urundi to the Trusteeship Council, February, 1950.

The Tutsi chiefs formerly enforced their rights to labour dues by beating and other punishments, according to the Belgian authorities. It is difficult to get any idea of the proportion of men who actually left their homes because of excessive punishments by chiefs for not doing feudal or communal labour or because they did not like doing communal labour at the rate of pay given. Of those coming through Kabale, four gave these reasons for coming between the years 1946–49. In the period between January, 1950 and October, 1950, only three had left for these reasons. At Kyaka Ferry nine gave these reasons for the period 1940–45, two for the period 1945–49, and two for 1949–50. A man who left home for the same reason on several occasions is counted as a separate departure in this case. These men made such statements as "If I was not beaten I would never have come to Uganda," or "I left home because I wanted a job without beatings." As has been stated, this practice has been prohibited recently, but the Belgian Government has had to deal with one of the most autocratic systems of government still surviving in Africa and it has had a comparatively short time in which to introduce changes. The Hutu were considered as serfs and expected to work as serfs and it would be idle to hope that this attitude could be changed by legislation in the course of a few years. One man had returned to Ruanda on three successive occasions, i.e. in 1938, 1941 and 1944 respectively, to see "if there were still beatings" but had felt it necessary to return again to Uganda each time. Since the new legislation was passed three men had returned to their homes having heard conditions were to be changed. One reported, probably too pessimistically, "This ill-treatment is not likely to cease. That is why people will keep on going into Uganda." Another from the Astrida area had, however, heard contrary reports and was going home, saying "Now they are not beating any more." It is plain that it can only be a matter of a few years before the new legislation becomes effective as it has in other African territories which have been much longer occupied by European administrations, and in fact the 1950 Ruanda-Urundi report cited explains the reduction in the migration rate from Urundi from 16,543 in 1949 to 11,470 in 1950, as due "surtout aux profondes modifications apportées au régime des prestations coutumières, notamment en travail, dont le rachat a été rendu obligatoire dés le début de 1949."[1]

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[1] Inter-Territorial Meeting of Labour Officers at Masaka, 1950. Rapport sur l'Administration Belge du Ruanda-Urundi, 1950, p. 140.

[2] It will be seen from Chap. II *supra*, that Ganda women did nearly all the communal labour in Buganda for many years.

Nevertheless, at the moment it is natural that the small amount of labour which is now all that can be demanded in communal service in Buganda (*bulungi bwansi*) seems light to the Ruanda and Rundi who used expressions such as "It is like a holiday to come to Buganda," or "The labour is nothing in Buganda. Ruanda don't complain," or "The Ganda peasant is the same as a rich man in Ruanda-Urundi. They sell freely what they cultivate," or "The peasant of Buganda is not like a peasant but he is like a sort of little chief." Such comments are not given in order to stimulate adverse criticism of the Belgian Government. It is obvious that conditions in this respect are improving rapidly in the Mandated territory. The picture is simply one of movement from a poor, over-populated area to an unusually wealthy one; from one mainly at a subsistence level to one where the population is largely engaged on the production of cash crops; and from a tribal system where feudal dues have only been recently prohibited to one where they have been limited for the last 30 years by an administration which has been in control for a much longer period. The question is discussed in such detail because it is an important one in relation to the future of Buganda. Uganda will probably remain a richer country than Ruanda-Urundi in spite of the new developments proposed in the latter country, but the individual freedom of the Ruanda and Rundi peasant is bound to increase progressively.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 140.

Another observation is worth making at a time when other African Governments are discussing the possibility and advisability of carrying through erosion and other safety measures by force. The evidence from Ruanda-Urundi seems to show that some African peasants will leave homes rather than cultivate to order for their own good. They do so here because there are wealthy territories within a short journey from them. It is at least worth asking if they are likely to do so if there is only marginal land available for settlement elsewhere; or indeed if they are likely to be willing to move from one overcrowded area to another. This is another point on which further comparative information would be useful from other parts of Africa.

Some travellers passing through the transit camps were on visits, i.e. 9 per cent. men and 9 per cent. women at Kabale and 3 per cent. men and 13 per cent. women at Kyaka Ferry. The traffic goes both ways, which is one of the factors that make the figures on immigration and emigration misleading. An immigrant may be crossing into Uganda for a short visit and returning the same year, and an emigrant may behave the same way. Such a coming and going of visitors has sprung up in other areas such as Northern Rhodesia, where it has been well described by Godfrey Wilson.[1] It seems to be a secondary traffic that establishes itself once a process of settlement in a new area, urban or rural, has gone on for some years. For instance, travellers through Kabale included four young men who were going to Buganda with senior male relatives, one to conduct a sister and a father's sister on a visit, one to retrieve an eloped sister's bride-wealth, and another to "see my father-in-law (in Ruanda) about his daughter's unfaithfulness."

Women were naturally predominent in the category of those visiting relatives. It is often assumed that women on the immigrant routes are all prostitutes, but the figures taken at the transit camps do not bear this out. The phrase "I am going to look for a husband in Buganda" is sometimes misleading. Young women are given in marriage by a male relative according to the common Bantu custom. This may be a father or a brother, either of whom may look after a girl and hope to get a share of her marriage payment. He may travel with her because she is left unprotected at home, or he may bring her to Buganda because he wants her to marry in the place in which he has settled. A young man sometimes arranges a marriage for his sister in Buganda and brings the girl back with him, usually with a female relative, to get married when she arrives.

Older women sometimes want to remarry in a country in which they have found by experience that conditions are easier. Thus, one Ruanda widow had originally married a tribesman in Buganda but he had left her. In 1932 she had married a Ganda but he had died and she had returned home. In 1946 she came again to Buganda to marry, but this husband deserted her and she went back home again. Now in 1950 she was returning with a grown son to look for another husband because "I want to live in Buganda." Other women came looking for their brothers or fathers in order to marry under their guardianship when they had been found. One woman, for instance, left her husband in Ruanda, and lived alone there until there was a famine, when she travelled to Buganda with some relatives. She spent a year looking for her brother and when she found him, a marriage with a Rundi settler was arranged. Only one wage-earning woman was interviewed. She had paid four successive visits to Kericho tea garden in Kenya. She had saved Shs. 300, but her husband claimed her wages so she left him. The company was paying her fare home for a holiday and she meant to return and work for the firm on her own.

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[1] Godfrey Wilson, *Economics of Detribalisation in Northern Rhodesia*, **1942.**

Also swelling the migrant stream were old women going to join their families settled in Buganda or even visiting them. A sixty-year-old woman was going to visit her son who had been twenty years in Buganda. She was going with a married daughter and a man "who says he knows where my son is." A sixty-eight-year-old woman with a married daughter had walked from Ruanda-Urundi to Kabale and was going to settle with her son-in-law in Buganda. She said "The journey was good, only last night my feet got a little tired". (See Plate IV, p. 56). Another old lady over sixty was being fetched by the youngest of three sons, all of whom had settled in Buganda.

Short-term visits in either direction also seem remarkable in view of the distance and time they involve. A Ruanda woman from Buganda was going home to visit her relatives in Ruanda-Urundi for "about a month" with six children under fifteen. Another who had been in Uganda since the 1929 famine was going back to look for her son in Ruanda, while a third had made a trip to Tanganyika to visit a blood-brother of her husband and was now returning.

Hence, on a route established by the logic of geographical features for immigrants who travel mainly under the stress of economic motives, there is a constant traffic of relatives going to and fro in fulfilment of traditional kinship dues. Among a pile of case histories of men looking for higher wages or land for settlement, was one of a youngish Ruanda woman walking on foot from Kampala to Astrida to sacrifice to her father's ancestors. She was pregnant and sick. She thought evil spirits were attacking her and that she urgently needed help.

FINDING WORK.

Lastly there remains the question of how the immigrants find work when they have reached Uganda. A very small proportion of the foreign labourers in Buganda are working on contract.[1] These are recruited at the borders or at big centres, usually Masaka for the South-West Route and Arua for those coming down the Northern Route. Men so recruited are taken to the District Commissioner for attestation and thence are transported by lorry to the plantations where they are engaged for work. Some of the employees of the Uganda Company, mainly those from the Kigezi area, though they are not recruited, sign on for about six months, and by so doing secure free transport to the Company's plantations.

Some Ganda, chiefly in the Buddu area where they farm on a large scale, have been known to take lorries up to the borders to try to persuade immigrants to come and work for them in return for free transport or an advance on the fare. One or two cases of this kind are mentioned in the descriptions of the village surveys on page 248. The practice is illegal since the men have not got licences to transport passengers. Africans have repeatedly asked to be allowed to recruit labour regularly and they continue to make such demands.[2] Supervision of such recruiting would of course be difficult and such requests have always been refused. It is not probable, therefore, that many immigrants find jobs on African farms in this way.

Nevertheless, the majority of travellers questioned at the camps seemed to have a clear idea of where they were going to start work. The optimism of the Buganda immigrants is probably due to the fact that they must realise clearly that their labour is not only wanted, but very eagerly wanted on the other side of the border. Ganda farmers lie in wait for them at bus stops. Plantation managers are usually short of labour and there are jobs waiting in public works departments and industry as well (*cf.* Chapter IV). From a labour point of view it is very much a seller's market and the immigrants are obviously quite aware of this. At a small tea-garden one of the investigators asked the manager if there were any sanctions applied to workers who constantly stayed away from work. A Rundi answered calmly in his employer's presence, "He can't do anything because he knows we can always go and work for ourselves on the land." Immigrants working on Ganda farms are in the same position. Landowners try to cajole them to come to work, and once come, to persuade them to stay. They discuss their different stratagems with something of the irritation of middle-class housewives in England in the last few years before the complete break-down of the institution of domestic service in that country. They accuse the immigrants of banding together to raise wages, or of accepting one job and then leaving it on a promise of higher wages elsewhere (*cf.* pp. 195, 226). Immigrants may be afraid of not getting pleasant work in Uganda, but they cannot seriously imagine that they will be without work at all.

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[1] The figure of one to nine (recruited to voluntary) is given in the Minutes of the Inter-territorial Meeting of Labour Officers in 1950.

[2] *Cf.* Report of the Labour Commissioner for 1937, para. 105; also pp. 215, 267 *infra*.

Apart from this general situation there are a number of ways in which the foreigners find work. Some return to a previous job with an African or non-African employer (*cf.* Appendix B). At least one case was noted of an African farmer who refused to pay his labourer until the latter had returned safely from his holiday. Other immigrants come with relatives who have, so to speak, recruited them in Ruanda or Urundi and have brought them to work. It is not uncommon for an older man to bring two or three younger relatives or fellow villagers in this way.

Again, news of work, or perhaps more important still, of the whereabouts of different kinsmen in Buganda travels up and down the routes. Uganda labour reports frequently refer to the speed with which rumours fly along a road and across the borders. There is plenty of time for talk in the transit camps and bus parks and here tales of travellers' adventures and jobs in Uganda are passed the rounds, like bomb stories in air-raid shelters, so that myths surround the habits of customs officials, employers and recruiting agents who are familiar figures on the way. News of the exact whereabouts of kinsmen travel in the same way so that these largely illiterate people seem in some way to be more closely in touch with a large group of relatives than are letter-writers in other parts of the world. The news travels in many ways. Men who are leaving for, or returning from Buganda do so with their pockets stuffed with scraps of paper and their heads with messages. They often carry also bus fares to absent wives. Senior members of a tribe settled in Uganda for some time have homes that are well known to their fellow tribesmen and these act as centres for relatives and fellow villagers. Men who have lived in Kampala or other towns for some time tend to meet the buses which arrive from home. Here they get detailed news of family events and prices in their home villages, pick out travelling relatives and the odd letter or bunch of onions sent. Domestic servants in Kampala seem to get the most up-to-date news of home in this way. Emigrants who leave Nyasaland for the South African gold mines are described as *Bachona*—"the lost ones"—but the distance between Uganda and the Ruanda-Urundi centres is so short that this breaking of kinship ties does not seem to occur. Men travel both ways to look for relatives, not seen for five or even twenty years, and they seem to know where to find them.

In the same fashion an immigrant long settled in a Ganda village becomes the centre for his fellow tribesmen. The case of two elderly Dama who had been twenty years in Buganda, in a Kyagwe village, who put up relatives on arrival from Mbale, is described in the account of the village surveys on page 237. It is often said that travel loosens tribal ties. In some ways it does so, but it also strengthens them. To a foreigner, alone or stranded, every fellow tribesman becomes a friend, and a distant member of his own clan or lineage is greeted with the warmth of a close relative. In this way travellers who come without the certainty of a particular job have yet the knowledge of a particular house from which they will be able to seek a job or a piece of land.

The distribution of immigrant labour thus takes place slowly but without the aid of the Government labour exchange. It is effected through a network of kinship ties which runs across Buganda from end to end.

SEASONAL FLUCTUATIONS.

The monthly figures on migration by the South-West Route show that the highest number of immigrants enter Buganda during March and April. They thus work for Ganda farmers during the months when they are needed to break up new land before the cotton planting in June, July or August. There is another smaller peak in October.

After this the figure falls steeply till the following March. Along the Northern Route the peak months seem to be slightly later, i.e. March to April, which fits in with the April planting season.

CHAPTER IV

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE IMMIGRANT AND GANDA POPULATION WITHIN BUGANDA

J. M. FORTT

INTRODUCTION.

According to the 1931 and 1948 census figures, the total African population of Buganda increased within the 17-year period between the two censuses by 49·6 per cent. This is a startling figure and it cannot be explained by the natural increase of the population living in Buganda in 1931. In fact, further examination shows that during the same period the Ganda themselves increased by only 13·7 per cent. to a total of about 855,000 persons; while tribes other than the Ganda nearly trebled in number (the exact percentage being 285 per cent.) totalling in 1948 some 441,000 persons. In other words, the settled population increased at a low rate, while the greater part of the total increase, which amounted to some 429,700 persons, was made up by increases in tribes foreign to Buganda.

The population figures which form the basis of this discussion are mainly derived from the 1931[1] and 1948[2] censuses; and from the unpublished statistical study[3] of the Ruanda and Rundi population distribution in Uganda in 1948 already referred to.

There are certain difficulties in comparing the material contained in the two censuses. In 1948 the data collected were analysed by the administrative division of the sub-county (*gombolola*) and these are the units represented in the case of Buganda in Maps 2 and 3; but in 1931 the larger administrative division of the county (*saza*) was used[4] so that the *saza* is the smallest unit of comparison possible.

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[1] *Uganda Protectorate. Census Return*, 1931. Published by the Government Printer, Entebbe, 1933.

[2] *African Population of Uganda Territory—Geographical and Tribal Studies*. East African Statistical Department, December, 1950.

[3] *Survey of the Banyaruanda-Barundi Complex*, by R. Ross and C. Sofer.

[4] In the case of Buganda, the 20 counties (*saza*) have geographical names of long historical standing, but the sub-counties (*gombolola*) are referred to by the titles held by their chiefs, and these are a regular series of four to fourteen names which are arranged in order of precedence and which correspond to the titles of military and court officials in pre-European days. Since they are repeated in each county they are indicated in Map 4 by the numbers 1–14. The same titles are repeated in the case of the chiefs in charge of wards, the territorial divisions known as *miruka* (sing. *muruka*) sometimes translated as the "parish" in administrative literature). These are also referred to in the text as Muruka 1, Muruka 2, etc., but are not indicated in the maps.

Changes in certain *saza* boundaries in the intervening period; different methods of reckoning the tribal affiliations of the inhabitants of other kingdoms added to Buganda by the British Government in the early part of the century; the fact that in 1931 no distinction was made between the Ruanda and the Rundi; discrepancies in the age divisions used and in the methods of collecting data—all create problems in analysing and comparing the available statistics. In addition, the exact distribution of members of every tribe cannot be deduced from the 1948 published material since only the largest ethnic groups represented in each *gombolola* are given. It is, nevertheless, possible to compare the *saza* figures for the Ganda; the Ruanda and Rundi together; and all other tribes together; and also to compare the male-female distribution on these lines.

A discussion of these problems, the solutions adopted for the purposes of this chapter, and an estimate of the probable degree of accuracy of the 1931 and 1948 censuses appears in Appendix A.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss in some detail changes in the density of population between 1931 and 1948, and to show where the greatest immigration has taken place. In order to do this, the chapter has been divided into four sections. The first section describes the geographical setting within which the population of Buganda, both native and immigrant, must be contained, and discusses other factors likely to affect the distribution of both the non-industrial and industrial African populations. The second portrays the existing pattern of total and immigrant settlement in 1948, in relation to the factors described in the first. The third deals in detail with changes in the population of each *saza* of Buganda between 1931 and 1948 and discusses changes in the composition of the immigrant population by sex as an indication of the degree of settlement achieved. The last section draws conclusions from the 1948 distribution of population and from the changes which took place between the two censuses.

It should be stressed here that the word "immigrant" refers to any member of a tribe other than the Ganda themselves, whether or not he or his parents came from within the Protectorate or from another Territory.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AFRICAN POPULATION

Having seen that large numbers of immigrants entered the Province between 1931 and 1948, it is proposed to discuss why they chose to come to Buganda; which parts of Buganda are most suitable for general settlement and the geographical factors which account for this; and some special factors influencing the settlement of the Ganda and the various immigrant groups respectively.

Buganda has been shown to be a centre for immigration, and one which is thought so desirable that peoples differing as widely as the Ruanda, the Lugbara, the Gishu and the Luo, to mention only a few, converge upon it. These immigrants may be divided into two main classes; those who work for African farmers or who take up land themselves and become peasant cultivators; and those who work in industry or on comparatively large plantations, usually owned by Europeans or Asians. The first class is by far the larger of the two, and there is a constant leakage to it from the second.

The attraction of Buganda to the first class of immigrant is that it is essentially a country of peasant agriculture. Conditions of soil and climate in the most fertile parts of the Province allow any small farmer with a plot of one or two acres not only to grow subsistence crops, but cash crops, usually cotton and coffee, as well.[1] An immigrant entering the country for the first time can easily find work for wages, either as a labourer on one of the comparatively few large-scale plantations, or from a Ganda farmer who earns enough money from his cash crops to pay for someone else to do his farm work for him. After a year or two, the immigrant may decide that he wishes to work for himself and to have his own garden. Under the system of land tenure described in Chapter V he is usually able to obtain a plot. During the first year, when he is clearing the land and planting his banana trees, coffee trees and cotton crop, he is able to earn his food by doing jobbing work for others every few days. Once his garden is established, he is not only self-supporting, but is able to sell his cotton after one year, and his coffee after about four years, when the coffee trees have begun to bear satisfactorily. If he comes from a grain-eating people, he finds that millet will grow in most districts. Up to the present, therefore, most immigrants have been able to make an easy living in Buganda.

[1] The following average cotton yields per acre for the period 1943–48 are taken from the 1948 Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture:—

Buganda and Toro	lb.	*Other Parts of Uganda*	lb.
Mengo District and Entebbe	374	Busoga District . .	245
Mubende District and Toro District . .	320	Bunyoro District . .	240
Masaka District	309	South Teso . .	161

The first three areas listed were the only ones in Uganda with an average yield of over 300 lb. an acre.

The same Annual Report estimated that the value of native production of cotton in Buganda in 1948 was approximately £1,099,601—the highest figure for any Uganda Province, although the Eastern Province ran it close with a production worth £1,012,515. Buganda also led in the value of the coffee crop (arabica and robusta taken together), which in 1948 was estimated at £1,439,554, compared with £122,643 in Eastern Province.

It is perhaps worth considering why parts of Buganda are so fertile that they allow this state of affairs to exist; and indeed, which these districts are, since there are distinct variations within the Province. To discover where conditions are most favourable to settlement, it is necessary to give a brief geographical description of Buganda.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING.

Relief. Buganda is part of a dissected plateau of some 4,000 feet average elevation. The drainage divide lies only just north of Lake Victoria (which itself drains northwards by the Nile) so that most of the drainage is towards Lake Kioga rather than Lake Victoria. The typical landscape is one of flat-topped hills, separated by wide valleys whose sides rarely have a slope angle of more than 6°. Except in periods of very heavy rain, movement of water is not visible in the river valleys which are filled with reeds and papyrus, or forested.

Soils. A uniform pattern is evident in the soils of Buganda. A sequence of soils classified as the *Bukalasa Catena*[1] is widespread throughout the Province. These soils are developed on Basement Complex rocks, but vary in composition according to elevation. The Bukalasa Catena includes four main soil types, graded from hill tops to valley bottoms. The most important type is formed of red earths, found usually below the hill-brows, although sometimes they cover the summits of the lower hills. They support most of the banana patches, cotton fields, coffee groves and crop land, and the majority of houses and huts are found here. The other three soil types making up the sequence are found on the hill tops; at the edge of the swamps; and in the swamps themselves; and though they support distinct types of vegetation they are not as satisfactory for cultivation as the red earths. Annual crops are often grown in the poorer soils of the zone immediately below the red earths and above the swamps, while the hill-brow soils above the red earths support short grass which may be suitable for grazing.

The Bukalasa Catena is typical of a very large area of Buganda but there are two other soil sequences which must be mentioned. First is the *Catena of the Karagwe-Ankolean Complex*, again comprising four main soil types graded from hill-brow to swamp like the Bukalasa Catena. These soil types have been formed on sedimentary rocks which, though Pre-Cambrian, are younger than those of the Basement Complex, and are found in Koki and western

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[1] The information on soils given in this section is derived from *A Provisional Soil Map of East Africa*, G. Milne, Amani Memoirs, 1936. *Agriculture in Uganda*, ed. J. D. Tothill. London, 1940.

Buddu; in the area north and east of Mubende township; and on the mainland of south-east Kyagwe. The soil sequence reproduces the division according to elevation shown in the Bukalasa Catena, and again the red earths are the most important soil type. These red earths of the Karagwe-Ankolean shales are low in lime and other nutrients; high in acidity and much heavier than those of the Bukalasa Catena. But in south-east Kyagwe, where the rainfall is usually over 50 inches a year, the rocks have weathered to give a very deep soil which in spite of its poverty in nutrients gives good crops of coffee and sugar because of its deepness, allowing free expansion of the roots, and its water-holding capacity. It is on these soils that the large sugar, rubber, coffee and tea plantations centred round Lugazi, which lies midway between the two large centres of Kampala and Jinja, are found.

The third soil sequence is formed of clay or sand soils, which lie along the shores of Lake Kioga and the borders of its tributaries; to the east of the Masaka-Bukoba road in Buddu; and in parts of Gomba *saza*. These are often referred to as "black cotton soils" and are related to the swamp fringe and true swamp soils of the Bukalasa Catena referred to above. In fact, neither type of soil is good for cotton; the swamp fringe soils are sandy and will produce crops, given an even rainfall distribution, although more suited to groundnuts than cotton; the true swamp soils are of limited usefulness for cultivation.

Climate and vegetation. The temperatures experienced in Buganda vary very little, and no part has a mean annual temperature of less than 65° F. The differences in natural vegetation, agriculture, and hence in density of population, depend largely upon variations in the rainfall regime.

The first feature to notice is the bimodal distribution of rainfall. Throughout the Province there are two distinct wet seasons, and two comparatively dry seasons (though no month is without rain). The "main rains" are the more reliable, falling from March to May; but they are of shorter duration than the less reliable second rains, which fall between August and December and which often exceed the "main rains" in quality. The two dry seasons fall from late December to mid-March; and in June and July. Western Masaka District is an exception, the longer and more pronounced dry season being from June to August.

The importance of this bimodal distribution lies in its influence on planting. The two rainy seasons, combined with temperatures which vary little throughout the year, enable two sets of crops to be grown annually. In Buganda, the relatively reliable "main rains" are used for food crops. Cotton, at present the most valuable annual cash crop, is grown during the second rainy season. Therefore, what may appear to be an adequate annual rainfall should be regarded as falling into two distinct parts. For example, an area with a mean annual rainfall of 40 inches may only receive an average of 18 inches during the food-crop season and 22 inches during the cotton-growing season.

But even when this division has been made, average figures present a misleading picture, as recent work on rainfall statistics by Mr. Manning, of the Empire Cotton Research Station at Namulonge, Kyadondo, shows. There is considerable variation in the amount of rainfall received in each rainy season from year to year over much of Buganda, and a district with, say, an average rainfall of 20 inches during the second, less reliable rains may in fact receive well below that amount of rain in some years and a great deal more in others. Cultivation depends on the minimum and maximum amounts of rainfall which may be expected in any one growing season, and not on the average over a period of years. If a crop cannot thrive on less than 20 inches during its growing season it is no use planting it as a staple in a district with an average rainfall for that season of 20 inches, when in four years out of eight the rainfall may be below 20 inches and in the other four years above.

Mr. Manning[1] has calculated upper and lower limits of expected rainfall for certain areas of Buganda, both for the year and for each month. The chosen level of probability was 9 : 1. In other words, he has outlined a series of rainfall zones in which in nine years out of ten the annual rainfall is unlikely to drop below the lower of the two figures given, nor to exceed the higher; and he has used the same system to show the lowest and highest rainfall to be expected in each month, in nine years out of ten.[2] For example, if the upper and lower limits of expected rainfall for the month of June were given as 4·8 inches and 1·6 inches, this would mean that in nine years out of ten the June rainfall would not exceed 4·8 inches or drop below 1·6 inches, although the actual annual rainfall figure for any June within the period might lie anywhere between 4·8 inches and 1·6 inches.

Before going on to describe the rainfall zones into which Buganda may be divided as a result of Mr. Manning's work, the importance of these upper and lower limits of expected rainfall in relation to cotton planting must be stressed. The best time for cotton planting in Buganda is generally June. Even if it were desired to plant cotton instead of food crops during the reliable "main rains" (March to May), it would not be practical to do so as cotton planted then would have to be harvested during the wet months of October to December with resultant damage to the crop; on the other hand, cotton planted in late July or August suffers from lack of moisture in January and February before it is picked in late February or March. The best yields, therefore, are obtained from plants put in the ground in June, but June is itself a comparatively dry month. It is therefore very important to know how often the rainfall received in that month in various districts is likely to fall below the amount needed to give the cotton plants a good start, in order to calculate the amount of risk involved in planting. And this knowledge becomes even more important when extending cotton cultivation to marginal areas where the average seasonal rainfall seems more than adequate, but where the monthly upper and lower limits may vary considerably. This is particularly true of western Masaka district, where the dry season extends from June into August.

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[1] H. L. Manning, Empire Cotton Growing Corporation Research Memoir No. 9, *Confidence Limits of Expected Monthly Rainfall*, London, 1951.

[2] It should be mentioned that if one is considering the lower limit only or the higher limit only, the reliability of the figure in question is correct for 19 out of 20 years.

On the basis of the upper and lower limits of expected annual rainfall, Mr. Manning has shown that there are five main rainfall zones in Buganda.

(*a*) 45 *inches to* 70 *inches*. The areas of Buganda with the heaviest rainfall lie along the north shore of Lake Victoria from the Entebbe peninsula to Jinja in a belt some 15 miles wide; and in north-west Buyaga on the plateau and upper slopes of the escarpment overlooking Lake Albert.

(*b*) 40 *inches to* 65 *inches*. A zone expecting in nine years out of ten not less than 40 inches of rain and not more than 65 inches, lies behind the Entebbe-Jinja zone of heavier rainfall; this zone, beginning about 15 miles west of Entebbe, runs parallel to the first zone to a point east of Kampala, swings north-westwards to form a tongue up the Sezibwa and Lwaja valleys as far north as Bukalasa, and then falls south-eastwards to reach the Nile north of Jinja. A second, small zone with 40 inches to 65 inches of rainfall lies in the coastal area of Buddu south of Lake Nabugabo, and a third covers the portion of Mubende District lying between the Provincial boundary south of Hoima, a point just east of Mubende township, and the boundary of Toro, due west from Mubende township.

(*c*) 33 *inches to* 48 *inches*. Three areas show a fiducial minimum and maximum of 33 inches to 48 inches; the first stretches from south-east Koki and south Buddu north-eastwards across Buganda to central Bugerere; the second covers most of the eastern Mubende

District; and the third lies on the lower slopes of the escarpment above the shores of Lake Albert.

(*d*) *25 inches to 40 inches.* Between those areas of Mubende District and Mengo District which may normally expect 33 inches of rain a year or more, lies a dry zone, at its narrowest near Lake Wamala but broadening out in the north to cover northern and central Singo and Buruli, and northern Bugerere; and in the south to include Mawogola, Kabula, north-west Buddu and south-west Koki in Masaka District, and west and central Gomba in Mengo District.

(*e*) *Less than 20 inches.* Within the dry zone, in Mawogola, is an area extending into Ankole where in nine years out of ten the annual expectation of rain is less than 20 inches. A very narrow zone where similarly the fiducial maximum is 20 inches is found on the Lake Albert flats.

Buganda is therefore divided into two zones of moderate to heavy rainfall in the north-west and south-east, separated by a drier belt, broad in the north-east and south-west but narrowing in the centre.

Because the vegetation is closely related to the rainfall belts, the main vegetation types will be described before correlating both these variables with population distribution. There are three main types of vegetation in Buganda; closed forest, elephant grass, and short grass. The comparatively small areas of *closed forest*[1] left in Buganda are found mainly in the zones with more than a fiducial minimum of 40 inches annual rainfall, but in most places the forest has been cleared and its place taken by elephant grass. An exception is the Mabira Forest, covering some 120 square miles in eastern Kyagwe. Quite a large area of the land surface of Bugala, the largest island in the Sese group, is devoted to closed forest; and the Malabigamo and Tero Forests of south-west Masaka District also prevent settlement, as they are reserved. The remaining areas of closed forest are not sufficiently large to have more than a very local effect on the settlement pattern. The *elephant grass zone* corresponds roughly to the 40 inches to 65 inches fiducial rainfall zone, with extensions into the 33 inches to 48 inches zone. *Short grass*, with low trees and scattered scrub, is found in the dry zone from south-west Masaka District right across Buganda to the savannah of the Kioga Basin, where the borassus palm makes its appearance. The type of vegetation, and of course crops, depends not only on the annual rainfall, but on its seasonal distribution. Thus the short grass zone corresponds very largely to those areas where the dry season is most marked. The degree of effectiveness of the rainfall is also of great importance. If rain falls mainly in very heavy storms a good deal of the moisture is likely to be lost through run-off and evaporation; while the nature of the soil cover makes a considerable difference to the amount which penetrates the ground. These and other factors are being studied at Namulonge. But their presence makes it impossible to lay down hard and fast vegetation zones in strict relation to the amount of annual rainfall received.

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[1] The Annual Report of the Forest Department, Uganda Protectorate, 1948, states that in that year 2·9 per cent. of the total land and swamp area of Buganda was under forest reserves.

The rainfall zones described by Mr. Manning are of great significance when considering population distribution. The areas with an annual fiducial minimum of 40 inches or above are those best suited to plantation agriculture, specialising in tea, coffee, sugar and rubber; and to intensive cotton and coffee growing on small gardens. The plantain also flourishes under these conditions. It is these areas, which receive sufficient moisture to maintain an adequate water supply and to allow an all-the-year-round pattern of cash-crop farming alternating with subsistence farming, that are capable of supporting the densest settlement. The dry zone, on the other hand, is marked by a falling-off in population density. As the dry season becomes more marked in the interior of the zone, so cotton-growing is increasingly risky, being successful only in years when the rainfall during the dry months is near the monthly fiducial maximum. Another deterrent to settlement is that the rainfall is not sufficiently reliable to maintain regular water supplies. In addition, because of the length of the dry season, the natural vegetation is short grass, suitable for extensive grazing of cattle which demands a lower density of population than does cash-crop farming, because of the large areas needed for pasture.

The margins of the short grass zone, however, where the rainfall is higher, are capable of producing cotton crops, although here again the more marked dry season which determines the nature of the vegetation results in a non-productive period for crops each year. This means that cultivators are not always successful in adopting the system of alternating subsistence and cash crops through the year which is typical of the elephant grass zone, and plantains tend to be stunted compared with those of the better watered areas.

It must be remembered that, cutting across the major vegetation zones of elephant grass, short grass and forest, areas of papyrus swamp or grass swamp are found throughout Buganda. The papyrus swamp, outlined in Map 2, is completely uninhabitable. The grass swamp, which may be dry enough for cattle grazing for some or much of the year, becomes waterlogged at times, and at best supports only a very scanty permanent population. At a rough estimate, these two types of swamp occupy some 17 per cent. of the entire land and swamp surface of Buganda. Both papyrus and grass swamps are widespread in the northern part of the Province, and grass swamps in Masaka District.

Water Supply.[1] One of the most important single factors in influencing population distribution, and one closely related to rainfall and vegetation, is water supply. The bulk of the population of Buganda relies far more on water holes than on supplies drawn straight from rivers. The presence of water holes depends not only on the annual rainfall but on its seasonal distribution, the intensity of its fall, the soil cover and the nature of the underlying rock. There may be a superabundance of water at one time of the year, but where the dry season is pronounced wells and springs may dry up temporarily, causing acute local shortage. Again, comparatively high rainfall may occur in very heavy storms, with consequent waste of water by run-off and evaporation; while soil whose vegetation cover has been temporarily removed by grass-burning absorbs less moisture than does ground protected by either short or long grass. Boring and well-sinking are naturally more difficult, particularly when unaided by modern equipment, where very hard rock overlies the water table. For all these reasons it is not surprising that availability of water supplies for human and animal consumption does not follow exactly the pattern of rainfall distribution. Mr. Bisset[2] discusses the whole problem of water shortage in the Protectorate. A map, based on replies to a questionnaire sent to all districts, shows that those areas where the water supply was reported as sufficient lay in the zones of heaviest rainfall, i.e. an arc inland from the shores of Lake Victoria running from eastern Masaka District through to Kyagwe; and the western and central parts of Mubende District. All south-west and central Buganda lay in the area of moderate difficulty; while northern Buganda, from Singo to the Nile, was reported to be an area where conditions were bad. The dry zone with 25 inches to 40 inches or less rainfall, and with its narrow waist near Lake Wamala, is therefore widened in effect by lack of suitable water supplies, so that it extends well into the zone of 33 inches to 48 inches rainfall delimited by Mr. Manning. From Mr. Bisset's map, it can be estimated very roughly that in 1936 for only about 37 per cent. of Buganda were water supplies reported as sufficient; in the remaining 63 per cent. conditions were said to be difficult or bad. Between 1936 and 1948 the Geological Survey constructed 49 tank dams and 163 successful bore holes in Buganda, measures which allieviated the water supply position in certain areas. But improvements by these methods of necessity have only a local effect, and in 1948 there remained large areas of Buganda in which the water supplies were still unsatisfactory.

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[1] *Soil Erosion and Water Supplies in Uganda—Appendix I.* C. B. Bisset, Geological Survey of Uganda. Memoir No. IV. Entebbe, 1938.

[2] Op. cit.

To sum up, one would expect to find the greatest overall density of non-industrial population on the red earths of those areas with more than a fiducial minimum of 40 inches of rain annually, which are suited to farming on a small scale, and where water supplies are adequate—in other words in the elephant grass zone. But before considering the distribution of population in 1948, in order to show how far this expectation is realised, there are special factors affecting the local distribution of the non-industrial population, first in the case of the Ganda and second in that of the immigrants, to be discussed.

As far as the Ganda are concerned, the presence of their capital at Mengo[1] has meant that Kyadondo and the parts of the neighbouring *saza* nearest to Mengo have a large Ganda population, drawn to the proximity of the Kabaka's court and the centre of the Buganda local government. The Kabaka's own lands are likely to be tenanted by Ganda rather than by immigrants because plots would have been taken up at an early stage. For example, in Mumyuka's *gombolola*, Busiro, the Kabaka has 496 tenants of whom only 70 are not Ganda. Finally, a factor influencing *local* distribution of the Ganda is the quality of the land in relation to the growing of plantains, the source of their staple food. It is surprising in how many cases the words "fertile" and "good for plantains" are synonymous to a Ganda. One may be told in conversation that a certain *gombolola* is poor land and bad for plantains, only to discover later in the same conversation that it is excellent for cotton.

The local distribution of the non-industrial immigrants is controlled by rather different factors. Those preferring to work for Ganda farmers are scattered throughout the best farming areas. The distribution of those deciding to settle down and farm their own land, on the other hand, is governed first and foremost by the availability of empty land. Such land might be empty because it was infertile or badly watered, or it might be good land but empty because it was difficult to reach, or far from southern Buganda and the centre of Ganda life, and so not so attractive to the Ganda themselves. Empty land, or deserted plots, are also found from place to place in the fertile belt of south Buganda, but here population pressure is at its greatest, and high charges are made before occupation may take place. (See pp. 128–9.)

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[1] *Mengo* is the name of the African capital of Buganda, lying immediately to the south-west of the Kampala municipal boundary. *Mengo District* is the name of the largest of the three main administrative divisions of the Province, the other two being *Mubende District* and *Masaka District*.

A further factor influencing distribution of immigrants is the availability of transport. In 1931 far more immigrants walked to their destinations in Buganda than do now. But by 1948 the importance of transport and communications had become very marked. The large plantations which recruited labour gave free transport from a point near the immigrants' entry into Buganda to the plantation. Public buses provided transport for those who could afford it. And the Ganda, realising the importance of offering transport in attracting labour, met immigrants coming off the boat at Port Bell from Tanganyika and offered to carry them by lorry into the country. The same thing also happened at Masaka, where as has been shown (*cf.* Chapter III), the two streams of Ruanda and Rundi immigrants from the Tanganyika route, via Kyaka Ferry, and the Kigezi route via Kabale, converge.

Nevertheless, proximity to the country of origin influences distribution of immigrants. Except for those going to large plantations or working in industry or business, it is reasonable to suppose that immigrants coming into Buganda are likely to take up work or land as soon as they find some of which they approve. Those who are walking are in any case forced to work, even if only temporarily, as soon as possible after entry into Buganda in order to get food. Examination of the percentage of Ruanda and Rundi to total population in the *saza* crossed by the Kyaka Ferry–Masaka township –Kampala road confirms this. The percentages in each *saza*. in 1948, from south-west to east were as follows:—

	Per cent.
Buddu	26·2
Mawokota	24·5
Butambala	21·8
Busiro	12·5
Kyadondo	8·1

The figure rose again in Kyagwe to 15·9 per cent. but this rise was due to the number of Ruanda and Rundi employed on the various plantations centred round Lugazi. The same decreasing trend was repeated northwards and north-eastwards from Buddu across Buganda.

Finally, different types of land attract or repel different types of immigrant. For example, it would seem true to say that there is at any rate a strong tendency for the Ruanda and Rundi, who are cultivators and banana eaters in their own home, to be attracted

PLATE VI. Lake port. Immigrants landed by steamer.

PLATE VII. Immigrants crossing the Kagera river by the Kyaka ferry.

to the elephant grass areas in Buganda where rainfall and soil conditions favour both crop-farming and growth of plantains. The Hima, on the other hand, are essentially stock-rearers and they are therefore far more numerous in the short grass areas of the dry zone than in the crop-growing districts of the fertile arc, where much less of the land is suited to cattle-rearing. A grain-eating tribe, for instance the Lango, will be content to settle in a district which grows good cotton or millet crops but which is not suitable for bananas. While it is dangerous to generalise too widely, it would seem reasonable to suppose that immigrants who are traditionally cultivators and banana eaters will come by preference to the fertile arc of Buganda; that grain eaters will be prepared to cultivate cotton in marginal areas where millet but not plantains will grow; and that immigrant herdsmen will gravitate to the short grass areas of western and central Buganda.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL AND BUSINESS POPULATION

Reasonably precise estimates of the proportion of the African population employed in business and industry may be made on the basis of the yearly enumerations of labour carried out for the Labour Department by the East African Statistical Department.[1]

On the basis of the 1948 census figures and the 1950 enumeration of labour, it is possible to estimate that roughly 11·5 per cent.[2] of all non-Ganda Africans were in 1948 working with firms employing ten or more men[3]; while approximately 88·5 per cent. (men, women and children) were outside these firms. In the same way, it may be estimated that about 2·5 per cent. of the total Ganda population were similarly employed in industry, 97·5 per cent. being outside the firms enumerated.

Table I, listing groups of occupations included in the 1950 returns, and giving the percentage of the total working labour force which each uses, provides a picture of the industrial life of Buganda.[1] It will be seen that agriculture holds first place, for the same conditions which favour peasant cultivation in Buganda also make large scale plantations possible and profitable. Construction runs a close second, as would be expected in a new and rapidly developing country.

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[1] These enumerations began in 1948, but a much greater degree of accuracy was secured in 1950 so that these schedules have been used here. Only those employers with a labour force of ten or more were included in the 1950 enumeration.

[2] This figure of course consists almost entirely of adult males and here is expressed as a percentage of the total non-Ganda population, including women and children, as no figures are available for adult males by tribe. It is possible, however, to make a rough estimate from the information available from which it seems likely that at least 24·5 per cent. of the non-Ganda adult males are employed in scheduled occupations, leaving 75·5 per cent. of the adult males employed in the other ways described.

[3] The lower limit of 10 employees excludes from the returns all but a very few African employers on the land. The great majority of African farmers who employ labour have less than 10 employees.

TABLE I

BUGANDA, 1950

Type of occupation	Percentage of total labour force (71,265 persons)
Agriculture	27·6
Construction*	27·5
African Local Government†	11·2
Manufacturing and light industries, including electricity	7·8
Transport and communications	4·5
Protectorate Government‡	4·4
Educational, medical, religious and community	4·4
Mining, quarrying and brickworks	4·4
Ginning §	2·8
Wholesale and retail‖	2·4
Forestry and fishing	1·8
Other occupations	1·2

* Includes employees of the Public Works Department.

† Includes local government road-makers and repairers, as well as civil servants.

‡ Employees of Protectorate Government Departments dealing with a specialised occupation have been included by the labour enumeration in that occupation, e.g. Department of Agriculture employees have been included under "Agriculture," Forestry Department employees under "Forestry," etc. This accounts for the comparatively low percentage of employees.

§ The enumeration was made in September, 1950, out of the ginning season, and so gives a misleading picture of the ginning industry.

‖ The numerous small shops scattered throughout Buganda which employ less than 10 staff are not included here.

The distribution of the labour force within Buganda is demonstrated by the fact that when returns were made in 1951 for concerns with 5 or more employees, Mengo District received 693 returns out of a total of 818 for the Province, and of these 344 or more than half were from Kampala municipality, while 39 were from Entebbe. For Masaka District there were 113 returns, Masaka township providing 57, or just over half, the District total. Mubende District had only 12 returns, all of which were from Local Government Authorities. Further examination of the schedules from

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[1] Condensed from the full list given in *Report on the Enumeration of African Employees in Uganda*, 30th September, 1950, East African Statistical Department, June, 1951.

Mengo District shows that, with the exception of some ginneries, and Local Government Authorities, returns came almost entirely from south Mengo District.

The reasons for the concentration of the business and industrial population in this region, and in Kampala within the region, lie in the presence of the large plantations developed on the Karagwe-Ankolean shales round Lugazi, and elsewhere within the fertile arc, which provide raw materials for food manufacturing industries; the large cotton and coffee crops grown in the area by African cultivators; the availability of closed forest timber for use not only in the joinery, quarrying, construction and other industries but as fuel in the many areas where electric power is not yet available; a ready market, as south Mengo District is the most densely peopled part of Buganda; and most important of all, the railway from the coast, at present ending at Kampala, which taps the produce of Buganda east of that town, including the produce of the Lugazi plantations, and makes Kampala the distributing centre for imports and collecting centre for exports of the whole western and southern Protectorate.[1] The railway also carries the diesel fuel for the power stations of Kampala, which provide electricity for many of the town's industries. At present, electricity in Buganda is available only in south Mengo District, and no further west than Entebbe. One power line connects Kampala and Entebbe, another Kampala and Namulonge about 10 miles to the north-east, a third Lugazi with Jinja, and a fourth Jinja with Kampala. (The hydro-electric scheme based on the Owen Falls, Jinja, is not yet in operation.) South Mengo District in general, and Kampala in particular, are therefore the natural centres for industry. Kampala's outport, Port Bell, provides facilities for water transport to and from Kenya and Tanganyika across Lake Victoria, strengthening Kampala's dominant position as a communications centre.

The returns from Masaka District, except for Local Government schedules, come mainly from agricultural and ginning concerns. Lack of power, other than wood for fuel, and distance from the railhead are at present deterrents to manufacturing industries. Masaka District has, however, a thriving port at Bukakata, which plays an important part in the Lake Victoria trade.

Mubende District shows even more clearly the effect of poor communications, since it possesses neither railway nor lake transport.[2] Cut off from south Buganda, Mubende District has not even developed the production of agricultural raw materials on a large scale, although there seems no reason why large-scale planting should not succeed there.

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[1] Goods for the north either go by rail from Jinja to Namasagali and thence by water to Masindi Port; or use the railway from Tororo to Namasagali.

[2] Lake Albert trade is concentrated at Butiaba in Bunyoro, and does not pass through Mubende District.

Table II, page 93, shows the place filled by the Ganda and immigrants in the occupations for which returns were made in 1950. 50,080 immigrants were employed in that year, as against 21,185 Ganda. That is to say, Ganda filled 29·7 per cent. of the jobs and the non-Ganda 70·3 per cent.

It is interesting that tribal distribution varies very much in different industries. For instance, the Belgian Territories, West Nile, Eastern Province and Sudanese tribes all had more people in agriculture (i.e. plantation agriculture) than in any other occupation included in the enumeration. More than 60 per cent. of the total West Nile tribes engaged in these occupations and more than 50 per cent. of the Belgian Territory tribes were absorbed by it. This means that members of these tribes will be found principally in south Mengo District, where plantations are most numerous. On the other hand, only 3·2 per cent. of the Lango and Acholi together were employed in agriculture, but more than half were engaged on construction. Their distribution pattern would therefore follow closely the main roads of the Province, which they would be keeping in repair; with concentrations in Kampala, where in 1950 over £5,000,000 worth of building was undertaken, in Entebbe and to a lesser extent in small towns like Masaka and Bombo.

The Nyoro, Toro, Nkole and Kiga together outnumbered the Ganda, and indeed all the other groups of tribes, as employees of the Protectorate Government, over 8½ per cent. of them being employed in this way; but their greatest numbers were engaged in construction and plantation agriculture.

The Ganda, although fewer in number than the total immigrants employed in scheduled occupations included in the enumeration, outnumbered all the other tribes or groups of tribes in every occupation except agriculture, Protectorate Government and "Other Occupations. In all except these three, they formed more than 30 per cent. of the total labour force employed. They showed a preference for skilled or semi-skilled work, which accounted for their low number in agriculture and the high proportion they formed in Wholesale and Retail Trade, and in Education, Medical, Religious and Community Services. It should be remembered, too, that each occupation listed includes posts for clerks, drivers and other semi-skilled or skilled workers and there is reason to believe that the Ganda largely held these posts. In addition, it is clear from the returns from other Provinces that the Ganda were taking skilled work outside Buganda, although the numbers doing so of

TABLE II

OCCUPATION BY TRIBE OR TRIBAL GROUP, BUGANDA, 1950

Scheduled occupation	Ganda	Belgian Territories[1]	Western Province[2]	West Nile[3]	Eastern Province[4]	Northern Province[5]	Kenya	Sudanese[6]	Other Tribes	Total
Agriculture	1,496	9,180	2,221	3,520	1,276	113	749	330	807	19,692
Construction	7,004	2,708	3,768	695	853	1,936	351	187	2,092	19,594
African Local Government	3,931	1,633	1,916	170	133	152	12	4	25	7,976
Manufacturing, light industries, electricity	2,142	755	498	328	447	156	842	81	325	5,574
Transport and communications	1,220	131	713	92	146	372	346	50	171	3,241
Protectorate Government	682	311	1,084	237	172	378	92	74	124	3,154
Education, medical, religious and community	1,476	498	646	57	130	111	44	39	142	3,143
Mining, quarrying and brickworks	933	597	481	91	327	169	306	19	191	3,114
Ginning	798	624	307	96	53	62	30	15	30	2,015
Wholesale and retail . .	875	215	249	53	62	29	108	44	74	1,709
Forestry and fishing . .	423	328	255	11	89	13	16	5	81	1,221
Other occupations	205	63	236	5	3	10	49	30	231	832
TOTALS	21,185	17,043	12,374	5,355	3,691	3,501	2,945	878	4,293	71,265
Percentage of total labour force	29·7	23·9	17·4	7·5	5·2	4·9	4·1	1·2	6·0	100

[1] Includes Ruanda, Rundi and various Congo tribes not included in [3].

[2] Includes Nyoro, Nkole, Kiga and Toro.

[3] Includes all Lugbara, Alur, Madi and Kakwa, both from inside and outside the Protectorate.

[4] Includes Soga, Dama, Gwere, Gishu and Teso.

[5] Includes Lango and Acholi.

[6] Includes all Sudanese tribes not covered by [3].

course formed an extremely small percentage of the total Ganda population.

Before leaving the distribution of industrial employees, it should be noted that although the Ganda formed 29·7 per cent. of the total labour force, the 21,185 Ganda so engaged only represented about 2·5 per cent. of the total Ganda population. Of the total Ruanda population in Buganda 7·3 per cent. were engaged in occupations, for which returns were made, 9·3 per cent. of the total Rundi population, and 14·4 per cent. of the total other immigrant population. So that it will be seen that in no case is industry as important as peasant farming or small scale employment as a means of livelihood.

Having seen how both immigrants and Ganda make a living in Buganda, it is worth considering in more detail the distribution and tribal composition of the population in 1948.

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN POPULATION, 1948

Map 2 shows the total African population distribution in 1948, each dot representing 500 people. The map is based on the *gombolola* returns given in *Geographical and Tribal Studies. African Population of Uganda Protectorate,* published by the East African Statistical Department in December, 1950.

The most interesting feature revealed by Map 2 is that Buganda is divided into four belts of varying population density, three of which correspond very closely to the climatic and vegetation zones described above. *The first belt,* marked by dense population distribution, runs from south-central Buddu through to the Victoria Nile, with extensions northwards into south Bulemezi, north Kyagwe and south Bugerere. This belt corresponds roughly with the 40 inches to 65 inches fiducial rainfall zone, except in Masaka District and south-west Mengo District where parts of it lie within the 38 inches to 48 inches zone, and is largely co-existent with the elephant grass zone, or fertile arc. *The second,* narrow belt, lies immediately west and north of the first. Here the population begins to thin out and become more scattered than in the fertile arc. This belt corresponds to the marginal lands where the elephant grass begins to give way to short grass, where the annual rainfall becomes lower, the dry seasons more marked, and water supplies less plentiful. *The third belt,* which shows up clearly on the map, stretching from Koki in the south through north-central Singo and Bulemezi, Buruli and north Bugerere to the shores of Lake Kioga, corresponds to the dry zone of low annual rainfall and bad water supplies. *The fourth belt* includes the greater part of Mubende District and shows a population distribution which is neither as dense as that of the fertile arc nor as sparse as that of the dry belt. As the climate and vegetation of this belt correspond very closely to those of the fertile arc, the reasons for the relatively low population density must be sought elsewhere. Probably the most important single deterrent to settlement in Mubende District is its isolation from South Buganda, and a glance at the map shows that it is cut off from the rest of the Province by the dry belt. It is significant, however, that this belt is being bridged by the spread of population north-westwards from Sabaddu *gombolola*, Singo towards Sabawali *gombolola*, Buwekula.

Table III shows the distribution of the Ganda and African immigrants by *saza* in 1948, in actual numbers and as a percentage of the total population.

TABLE III

AFRICAN POPULATION, BUGANDA, 1948

Saza	Ganda		Immigrants	
	Total number	Percentage of total African population	Total number	Percentage of total African population
Bugangazzi	20,760	96·3	791	3·7
Buvuma	2,255	95·8	99	4·2
Buyaga	31,797	93·3	2,280	6·7
Sese	3,829	87·9	527	12·1
Koki	16,411	84·6	2,997	15·4
Buwekula	24,644	84·5	4,522	15·5
Buruli	15,144	84·1	2,853	15·9
Butambala	20,809	71·8	8,175	28·2
Busiro	72,258	70·5	30,192	29·5
Singo	70,786	69·6	30,926	30·4
Kyadondo	91,366	68·9	41,253	31·1
Mawokota	46,664	67·2	22,793	32·8
Buddu	168,956	63·7	96,380	36·3
Bulemezi	99,344	62·9	58,648	37·1
Busuju	10,507	60·5	6,871	39·5
Kabula	5,740	60·3	3,780	39·7
Bugerere	12,160	58·2	8,751	41·8
Gomba	19,673	56·9	14,930	43·1
Kyagwe	113,458	54·5	94,904	45·5
Mawogola	8,801	47·7	9,667	52·3
Totals	855,362	66·0	441,339	34·0

DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS, 1948.

The 1948 distribution of African immigrants in relation to total population can best be seen from Map 3, with its accompanying key map, Map 4. Here the percentage of immigrants to the total population is shown by *gombolola*. Reference to the total population distribution map, Map 2, which also gives the *gombolola* boundaries, will show the size of the total population involved in each *gombolola.* A quick glance shows that the immigrants reached their highest density in relation to total population in southern and central Buganda mainly within the limits of the fertile arc. There were, however, certain exceptional areas which deserve consideration.

A. *Areas where percentage of immigrants to total population was* 60 *to* 65 *per cent.*

There were two areas of outstanding concentration of immigrants, and these were in complete contrast with each other.

(i) The first lay in Kyagwe, in the well-watered fertile arc, and included the sugar, coffee, rubber and tea plantations developed on the Karagwe-Ankolean shales and centred round Lugazi, which employ large numbers of immigrant labourers. In 1948 the three *gombolola* making up the concentration supported a total African population of some 36,460 people, of whom 22,848 were immigrants.

(ii) The second area was in Mawogola (*Sabagabo gombolola*), which lies in the dry belt where cattle rearing on the short grass is more important than cultivation. The total population of the *gombolola,* which was roughly equal in area to the combined area of the three *gombolola* in Kyagwe mentioned above, was only 4,364, but of this population, 52 per cent. were returned in 1948 as Hima alone. There seems no doubt that these semi-nomadic herdsmen were attracted by the pasture land, and the building of four tank dams in the *gombolola* between 1939 and 1942 probably encouraged their visits. Although rainfall is variable in this dry area and successful crops cannot be guaranteed every year, cotton may do well in the extreme eastern part of the *gombolola*.

B. *Areas where the percentage of immigrants to total population was* 50 *to* 59 *per cent.*

There were six *gombolola* with an immigrant population of 50 to 59 per cent. These were:—

(i) *Mutuba* V, *Kyagwe,* near the plantations in East Buganda and within the orbit of the comparatively large and growing town of Jinja across the Nile in Busoga;

(ii) *Mumyuka, Kyadondo,* an urban *gombolola* containing the greater part of Kampala Municipality;

(iii) *Mumyuka, Bugerere,* a *gombolola* with a high proportion of empty land until recently (see also page 102);

(iv) *Mutuba* III, *Busiro*, another *gombolola* which attracted immigrants because it was empty, this time mainly because, although near Kampala, it was not so fertile or rewarding as other parts of Busiro and in particular because much of the land was dry and not suitable for growing bananas of high quality. (This was one of the *gombolola* selected for the village surveys—see page 232);

(v) *Musale, Buddu*, which was empty until 1931 when the *gombolola* was opened up by the setting up of a new *gombolola* headquarters. This in turn led to improvements in existing roads and the building of new ones. A mission station was then built and after this Indian traders set up shop, and this in turn encouraged new settlers. (The number of tax-payers in 1931 was only about 1,600, whereas today there are 7,136.) Once the settlement of the *gombolola* began the population increased very rapidly. Ganda took up the land first but they employed Ruanda and Rundi who soon realised the advantages of taking up land with the result that in 1948 Ruanda alone accounted for 34 per cent. of the population. For this reason this *gombolola* was selected for special study by means of a village survey. The tax registers now give the following percentages:—

TABLE IV

TAX REGISTERS, MUSALE GOMBOLOLA, BUDDU, 1951

Muruka	Ganda	Ruanda-Rundi	Other
	%	%	%
1	53·2	43·7	3·1
2	60·5	37·0	2·5
3	39·9	50·5	9·6
4	43·8	47·2	9·0
5	36·9	49·2	13·9
6	49·8	35·6	14·6
7	53·2	37·8	9·0
8	45·0	48·7	6·3
9	53·3	28·9	17·8
10	37·1	54·5	8·4

(vi) *Sabaddu, Mawogola* lies in the short grass zone, but nevertheless its immigrant population in 1948 included many recently arrived Ruanda and Rundi cultivators, who formed 34 per cent. of the total population. Land was then so plentiful that a plot could be taken up with no payment beyond the customary dues. Whether the *gombolola*, which lies on the outer edge of the marginal zone, will be able to increase its population much further, or to maintain it if a series of years with low rainfall occurs, remains to be seen.

C. Areas where immigrants formed between 30 *to* 49 *per cent. of the total population.*

Most of the *gombolola* with immigrant populations of between 30 to 49 per cent. lay within the fertile arc already described. Exceptions were *gombolola* in which the attraction lay principally in grazing grounds and not in crop land. In all these the proportion of immigrants was high since conditions favoured Hima and Nkole rather than Ganda who are not now a cattle people. They included all the *gombolola* of Kabula, except Sabaddu in the south; Mumyuka and Sabagabo in Mawogola; Mutuba VII, Buddu; and Mutuba II, Buwekula. In all except the last, water holes and tank dams constructed since 1931 made the watering of cattle easier than it had been before.

Another exception was Mutuba III, Singo, which lies in the marginal zone. In the south of the *gombolola* is a line of hills rising to 4,352 feet. Here the red earths are fertile, and the hills better watered than the lower land to the north. Cotton, coffee and plantains do very well in this part of the *gombolola*, which even exports bananas. It was here probably that most of the Ruanda and Rundi, who in 1948 formed 18 per cent. of the total population of the *gombolola*, settled. Six per cent. of the total population in 1948 were Hima, indicating that north of the fertile hill region, a fair amount of short grass land was to be found.

Mumyuka gombolola, Bulemezi, probably attracted immigrants because it was better watered than Buruli to the north, so that Lango migrating southwards stopped there to settle. (Some Lango did not get as far as Bulemezi, however, and settled in Buruli.) The 1948 census showed that 23 per cent. of the total population of this *gombolola* were Lango.

D. Areas where the proportion of immigrants to total population was less than 30 *per cent.*

The percentage of immigrants to total population was lowest in the borderlands of Buganda.

In *south Buddu and Koki*, and in *north Mengo District*, the rainfall is too uncertain for good crops, and the pasture land is not of a high quality. Much of the empty land, of which there is plenty, is not worth taking up, and poor communications do not encourage immigration.

Mubende District has been shown to have a favourable climate and it possesses cheap empty land in plenty. But up to 1948 the initial impetus to immigration seemed to be missing. There were no large plantations or industries to attract porter labour in the first place, while the Ganda in the district have never had many porters. It seems that immigrants tend to start their life in Buganda as porters and then take up land, so that without openings for casual labour in the first place the cycle may never start.

The islands of *Buvuma* and *Sese* were difficult of access to immigrants, and lacked varied opportunities of employment.

Another group of *gombolola with a low percentage of immigrants* (20 to 29 per cent.) centred round Mengo, the Ganda capital, spreading eastwards through Kyadondo to include Mutuba III, the most westerly *gombolola* of Kyagwe; and westwards through Busiro to the two most easterly *gombolola* of Butambala. This is the nuclear area of Buganda where one would expect the Ganda to have settled first, two or more centuries ago, and to have held land in modern times before the large scale immigration of foreigners began, and this indeed appears to be what has happened.

Other *gombolola* with 20 to 29 per cent. immigrants within the fertile arc are in Butambala (Mutuba I and Sabaddu) and Buddu (Mutuba II). The former area is supposed to contain a certain amount of infertile land while the good land was taken up early by the Ganda. In Mutuba II, Buddu, there is said to be good grazing land which may have kept out immigrants who wanted to cultivate although the *gombolola* is too small and far from the main grazing areas to attract nomadic herdsmen from Ankole or western Masaka District.

Before leaving the discussion of immigrant distribution, it should be stressed that Figure 3 shows distribution as an average over the whole *gombolola* whereas the percentages of immigrants to the total population vary considerably at different points within the *gombolola*, as the figures in Table IV show.

CHANGES IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND COMPOSITION, 1931–48

I have given a broad picture of population distribution as it was in 1948. This picture will be amplified if a study is made of changes in population in each *saza* between 1931 and 1948, and it is proposed in this section to set out changes in the total African population; the Ganda population; the Ruandi and Rundi population; and all the other African immigrants together. In this way, the main trends of population movement will become clear.

Table V shows that the *saza* fall into four groups: first those with a total African population increase of 80 per cent. and over; second those with increases between 37 and 47 per cent.; third, those with increases between 12 and 25 per cent.; and fourth, those showing decreases in total African population.

TABLE V

Population Changes by Saza, Buganda, 1931–48

Saza*	Increase or decrease, Ganda population	Increase or decrease, all African immigrants	Increase or decrease, total African population
	%	%	%
Busuju	49 I	629 I	117 I
Bugerere	33 I	646 I	102 I
Buddu	45 I	431 I	92 I
Kyagwe	26 I	267 I	80 I
Bulemezi	6 I	319 I	47 I
Gomba	*2 D*	314 I	47 I
Singo	11 I	429 I	46 I
Kyadondo	14 I	202 I	42 I
Busiro	12 I	280 I	41 I
Kabula	41 I	32 I	37 I
Mawokota	3 I	119 I	25 I
Sese	14 I	188 I	23 I
Mawogola	—	—	22 I
Butambala	0·5 I	134 I	20 I
Buwekula	0·4 I	359 I	14 I
Koki	*2 D*	512 I	12 I
Buyaga	*9 D*	774 I	*3 D*
Bugangazzi	*13 D*	119 I	*11 D*
Buruli	*32 D*	51 I	*26 D*
Buvuma	*40 D*	350 I	*38 D*

* Certain changes in *saza* boundaries, referred to in Appendix A, page 257, took place between 1931 and 1948. These changes have made it impossible to compare directly the 1931 and 1948 census figures for the *saza* affected. Nor are there records of the total populations involved in the transfers.

Using figures of taxpayers transferred, and assuming arbitrarily that those in the tax registers represent one-quarter of the total population, revised figures for total population in 1931 have been estimated for each *saza* involved by adding or subtracting the estimated transferred population from the total population given for the *saza* in the 1931 census. The total population figures for 1931 given in the following Tables VI, VIII, IX and X are these revised figures and not those shown in the 1931 census. In other words, each *saza* involved has been considered as if its 1931 boundaries were the same as they were in 1948, thus making comparison possible.

The transferred populations have been divided tribally in proportion to the tribal analysis of the rest of the *saza* from which they were transferred.

The figures given for the *saza* affected, Buddu, Kabula, Mawogola, Bulemezi, Buruli, Kyagwe and Sese must therefore be looked on as estimates only, but they are sufficient to show the main trends of population change.

The following changes from the 1931 census have been made:—

Buddu.—From the tax returns it is estimated that 6,600 people were transferred in 1932 from Buddu to Mawogola. 86·5 per cent. of the 1931 population of Buddu were returned as Ganda, 6 per cent. as Ruanda and Rundi and 7·5 per cent. as other immigrants. These proportions have been taken as applicable to the 6,600 people transferred, and as a result it has been assumed that 5,709 Ganda, 396 Ruanda and Rundi and 495 other immigrants were added to Mawogola's population and were lost to Buddu. In Table VI, the 1931 total Ganda population for Buddu has been shown as 5,709 fewer than the Census reports, the Ruanda and Rundi as 396 fewer, and the other immigrants as 495 fewer.

Bulemezi and Buruli.—On the same basis it is estimated that Bulemezi lost and Buruli gained 3,840 people by land transfer of whom some 3,221 have been treated as Ganda, 42 as Ruanda and Rundi, and 577 as other immigrants.

Kabula.—This *saza* lost some 500 people to Mawogola, of whom 294 have been treated as Ganda, 9 as Ruanda or Rundi and 197 as other immigrants.

Mawogola.—It has proved impossible to estimate population changes in Mawogola with any accuracy. The 1931 census showed a total population of 3,052, but it is the opinion of the Protectorate Agent's Office, Masaka, that a large number of the stock-owning population of the *saza* may have been out of the area when the census was taken, possibly grazing cattle elsewhere. Judging from the tax registers for 1931, the total population of the *saza* was probably somewhere near 8,000 persons. In addition, Mawogola received approximately 6,600 people from Buddu and 500 from Kabula; taking all these factors into account, the total population increase between 1931 and 1948 might be about 22 per cent., but there are too many uncertainties to attempt further analysis into tribal divisions.

Sese and Kyagwe.—It is estimated that Sese lost about 1,280 people to Kyagwe by the transfer of Kome Island in 1933. Of these, 1,215 have been treated as Ganda, 37 as Ruanda and Rundi, and 28 as other African immigrants.

More detailed study of these groups reveals several points of interest.

TABLE VI

POPULATION INCREASES OF 80 PER CENT AND OVER BY SAZA, BUGANDA, BETWEEN 1931 AND 1948

Saza	1931	1948	Actual increase or decrease	Per cent. increase or decrease
Busuju				
Total African population ..	7,977	17,378	9,401 I	117 I
Ganda	7,034	10,507	3,473 I	49 I
Ruanda and Rundi	223	5,144	4,921 I	2,207 I
Other African Immigrants ..	720	1,727	1,007 I	141 I
Bugerere				
Total African population ..	10,333	20,911	10,578 I	102 I
Ganda	9,160	12,160	3,000 I	33 I
Ruanda and Rundi	32	832	800 I	2,500 I
Other African immigrants ..	1,141	7,919	6,778 I	594 I
Buddu				
Total African population ..	134,854	265,336	130,482 I	92 I
Ganda	116,716	168,956	52,240 I	45 I
Ruanda and Rundi	8,159	69,429	61,270 I	751 I
Other African immigrants ..	9,979	26,951	16,972 I	170 I
Kyagwe				
Total African population ..	115,901	208,362	92,461 I	80 I
Ganda	90,053	113,458	23,405 I	26 I
Ruanda and Rundi	3,206	33,124	29,918 I	933 I
Other African immigrants ..	22,642	61,780	39,138 I	173 I

Busuju.

Although the percentage increase of the Ganda in Busuju was higher than in any other *saza*, yet in actual numbers the Ruanda and Rundi alone increased more than the Ganda did, and nearly five times as much as all the other African immigrants put together.

There are two questions to be asked here. First, why did the Ganda increase by such a large percentage, which cannot be explained by natural increase and indicates immigration into the *saza*? Second, why did so many Ruanda and Rundi settle in the *saza* compared to other immigrants?

The fact that Busuju lies within the fertile arc and is essentially a cultivator's country is relevant to both problems. (Only in Mumyuka's *gombolola*, south of Lake Wamala and in the west of the *saza*, is elephant grass replaced by short grass.) Busuju was the nearest *saza* to Mengo which still contained much fertile empty land during the period 1931–48, the *saza* headquarters being only 43 miles from Kampala. This encouraged the entry of Ganda cultivators from Gomba, where the Ganda population decreased by 2 per cent. between 1931 and 1948; and Butambala, where the increase in the Ganda population was only 0·5 per cent. Other Ganda immigrants came into the *saza* from the overcrowded Entebbe peninsula, and a few moved there when Namulonge, in north Kyadondo, was taken over for a cotton research station.

Busuju's transit position between Buddu and Gomba to the south and Bulemezi and Singo to the north influenced the settlement of the Ruanda and Rundi. At one stage, it is said, they passed through the *saza* on their way to work as porters in Singo and Bulemezi; then as the practice of taking up land spread, and land became short in south Bulemezi, they began to settle in Busuju itself.

Bugerere.

The total African population of Bugerere more than doubled in 17 years; the Ganda increased by 33 per cent., while the African immigrants other than Ruanda and Rundi increased in actual numbers just over twice as much as the Ganda. The greater part of Bugerere lies outside the fertile arc; but the most southerly *gombolola*, Mumyuka, is largely within the elephant grass zone, and it was here that most of the population increase took place. Until quite recently there was a good deal of empty land in Mumyuka—land said to be amongst the best cotton land in Buganda, and also very good for coffee, maize and plantains. It was easy for immigrants either to hire land there by the year, as the Alur preferred to do, or to take up plots as the Ruanda did. It may be asked why the Ganda allowed so much fertile land to remain empty for so long, and why, with the pressure of population growing in the older settled districts, they did not take up the land themselves before the immigrants did. This is a complex question, but various explanations may be advanced. The position of Bugerere as a march-land between Buganda and Busoga no doubt played a part in keeping south Bugerere empty before the coming of a European administration. The infestation of the area by mbwa flies, now partially relieved, was also a deterrent. The Ganda themselves avoid manual work if possible, and clearing new ground in the elephant grass zone is no light task. Further, the idea of breaking new land in a different district must be stranger to a Ganda than to an immigrant coming into the country with just that purpose in mind. In fact the Ganda themselves increased in Bugerere by 33 per cent. between 1931 and 1948, showing that they, too, became aware of the advantages to be gained from settling in the *saza*, but it seems that the immigrants led the way, and have never relinquished the lead they gained by their early start.

Sabagabo *gombolola*, which is marginal in character, showed an increase too, though a small one. The population of the two northerly, swampy *gombolola* seems to have remained unchanged, judged by a comparison between a population map based on the 1931 census,[1] and Map 2.

The small total number of Ruanda and Rundi in the *saza*, even in 1948, illustrates the importance to these two tribes of distance from the south-west entry point. A good many of the 832 returned as present in the *saza* in 1948 are said to have been employed as porters, even at that late date. Of the other immigrants, the census shows that the Soga, Teso and Gishu, all from tribes close to Bugerere, formed the majority. There were in 1948 also a certain number of Alur, who followed their practice of hiring land by the year, cultivating a cotton crop, and returning home with the proceeds from its sale.

Buddu and Kyagwe.

These two *saza* are similar in many ways. Both are large in area although Buddu is considerably bigger than Kyagwe. Kyagwe lies entirely within the fertile arc, and Buddu mainly so. Both have dense populations, and are the only *saza* in Buganda with a total African population of over 200,000. Both depend for their prosperity principally on agriculture.

In Buddu the increase in African population was greater than in Kyagwe. This one would expect, since not only was Buddu larger, but it was not so densely peopled in 1931 and therefore had greater room for expansion.

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[1] Population Map of Uganda by S. J. K. Baker, *Uganda*, ed. Thomas and Scott, O.U.P., 1935.

The tribal composition of the total population increases, however, shows significant differences.

TABLE VII

Saza	Percentage of total increase formed by Ganda	Percentage of total increase formed by Ruanda and Rundi	Percentage of total increase formed by other African immigrants
Buddu	40·0	47·0	13·0
Kyagwe ..	25·3	32·4	42·3

In Buddu the Ganda accounted for a greater part of the total population increase than in Kyagwe. In both *saza*, the increase of the Ruanda and Rundi was greater than that of the Ganda, but again, the proportion was higher in Buddu than in Kyagwe. The percentage of the total increase accounted for by other African immigrants, however, was the lowest of the three groups in Buddu, and the highest in Kyagwe.

Consideration of these figures leads one to ask why the Ganda increased more in Buddu than in Kyagwe; why the Ruanda and Rundi accounted for nearly half the total population increase in Budda; and why the increase of other immigrants was so low in Buddu and so high in Kyagwe.

As far as the Ganda were concerned, Buddu had the advantage of more fertile empty land than Kyagwe, allowing room for expansion by taking up land. At the time when the Ganda began to realise the monetary advantages of farming their own land on as large a scale as possible, Buddu was one of the few *saza* in the fertile arc where it was possible to obtain large plots, enabling coffee and cotton to be grown in quantity. Buddu is an exporter of bananas to the Kampala area; in many places African farming in Buddu is a career rather than a means of subsistence. These conditions almost undoubtedly encouraged the movement of Ganda cultivators into Buddu from other overcrowded or less fertile parts.

In Kyagwe, a movement of Ganda to south Kyagwe to grow coffee and to north Kyagwe to grow bananas for export began in about 1940 and helped to account for the increase in their numbers in the *saza*. Unlike Buddu, Kyagwe also attracted skilled tradesmen and clerical workers by opportunities for work on the non-African plantations and in business concerns. The numbers involved were probably not large enough to result in marked population changes, but there is no doubt that Jinja to the east, since the opening of the Nile Bridge in 1931, and Kampala to the west, offered many opportunities of employment.

In the case of the Ruanda and Rundi, Buddu was attractive first because it was possible to find work as porters there, and later because there was empty land on which immigrants could settle and work for themselves. It has already been stressed that the *saza* was the natural stopping place for many Ruanda and Rundi, being the first really fertile *saza* to be passed through on the journey into Buganda. Kyagwe on the other hand was further away and land was scarcer. However, there were opportunities of employment in factories and on plantations in Kyagwe which were lacking in Buddu.

The major difference between Buddu and Kyagwe, i.e. the position of one as a centre of African farming and the other as a focus of plantation agriculture, is again illustrated by the figures for other African immigrants. The Kyagwe plantations brought in yearly large numbers of contract labourers, and attracted members of many tribes who wanted temporary jobs to earn some money but did not intend to settle down permanently. Eleven tribes were mentioned in the published 1948 census returns for Kyagwe, and only five in Buddu. Buddu offered to the immigrant the chance to work as a porter to a Ganda farmer and the possibility of settling down to farm land to himself; Kyagwe offered both these possibilities, but in addition had a considerable demand for temporary unskilled labourers working on a contract basis.

Bulemezi. (See Table VIII.)

The Ganda population of Bulemezi increased by only 6 per cent. between 1931 and 1948. As the average rate of increase for all Buganda was 13·5 per cent. this figure would indicate that some Ganda left the *saza* although the opinion held locally is that the birth rate had been going down.

The increases in the immigrant population are best looked at in relation to the three geographical zones of the fertile arc, marginal zone and dry belt which the *saza* contains. The Ruanda and Rundi increase was more than sixteen-fold, and at least three-quarters of all the Ruanda and Rundi in the *saza* in 1948 were in the fertile arc. The other immigrants outnumbered the Ruanda and Rundi, and in fact were more than twice as many. Because of insufficient published information for 1948 a detailed analysis cannot be carried out; but the grain-eating Lango, coming from the north (*cf.* p. 98) numbered 4,728 in the three *gombolola* of the marginal zone, being more numerous there than the Ruanda and Rundi.

No less than 61 water holes were bored in the *saza* between 1931 and 1948 and this improvement in the water supply must have attracted new settlers.

Gomba. (See Table VIII.)

The most striking change in Gomba between 1931 and 1948 was the decrease in the Ganda population. This may be partly explained by poor communications. No main road to Kampala passes through the *saza* and it can be reached easily by motor traffic only from the south, by a second class road leading off the main road to Masaka. Mumyuka's and Sabawali's *gombolola* in the east lie within the fertile arc, but although up to 1948 they contained empty land it was said locally to be difficult to clear and so might not have been attractive to the Ganda. There were no large industries or businesses to absorb educated young Ganda, who are said to have left the *saza* to look for work elsewhere.

Analysis of the figures of the Ruanda and Rundi, and the other immigrants, is interesting in the light of the division of the *saza* between two geographical zones, elephant grass in the east and short grass in the west. Of the 9,293 Ruanda and Rundi reported in the *saza* in 1948, more than two-thirds were to be found in Mumyuka and Sabawali where cultivation was more important than cattle-raising. It is said that most of the Ruanda and Rundi there have taken up plots instead of working as porters. Of the 5,637 other immigrants, 4,653 were reported as Nkole, and of these more than two-thirds were in Sabaddu and Sabagabo, both in the short grass zone. The assumption is that the Nkole came into the short grass country from the west to rear cattle, although many Nkole are cultivators rather than herdsmen. Their immigration was encouraged by the building of five tank dams in 1944 in western Gomba.

Singo. (See Table VIII.)

The Ganda population in Singo increased by 11 per cent. between 1931 and 1948. This figure is only a little below average and does not call for comment. The change in composition of the Ruanda and Rundi, and the other African immigrants, however, deserves some attention.

Like Bulemezi, Singo contains three geographical zones. The fertile arc includes most of Mumyuka, Sabagabo and Musale in the south-centre and south-east of the *saza*. The marginal zone contains the greater part of Sabaddu; Mutuba I; Sabawali; and Mutuba III (described on page 98). Mutuba II and Mutuba IV in the north-west and Mutuba V in the south-west are in the dry belt.

The distribution of immigrants within these belts reflects the same pattern as in Bulemezi; 68·4 per cent. of the Ruanda and Rundi in 1948 were in the fertile arc; 28·4 per cent. were in the marginal zone, excluding Sabawali for which no figures are available; and by implication only 3·2 per cent. or 551 persons in the dry belt and Sabawali.

There is insufficient published information to allow analysis by tribe of the other immigrants into Singo. They increased less than the Ruanda and Rundi, but more than the Ganda. No doubt the boring of 23 water holes in the *saza* between 1940 and 1947 encouraged immigration.

Kyadondo. (See Table VIII.)

The total population of Kyadondo increased by 42 per cent. which is a considerable figure for a *saza* already densely populated. But the Ganda increased by 14 per cent., which is not a high rate of increase for an area providing so many opportunities for skilled technical and clerical workers. The increase of the Ruanda and Rundi in proportion to their 1931 population was low compared to other parts of Buganda. This may be explained partly because Kyadondo provided very little spare land for cultivation, and perhaps partly because many Ruanda and Rundi had already settled in *saza* further west and so never reached Kyadondo.

The other immigrants increased in actual numbers more than the Ganda and the Ruanda and Rundi; presumably being attracted by the varied opportunities of employment. Kampala's influence is felt to a much greater extent in Kyadondo than in any other *saza*, and its presence makes it impossible to analyse tribal distribution without further investigation, since most of the *gombolola* of the *saza* are used as dormitories by Africans who go in to Kampala daily to work.

Busiro. (See Table VIII.)

The rise of 12 per cent. in the Ganda population between 1931 and 1948 was just below average. The *saza* possessed the attraction to the Ganda of proximity to Kampala, and numbers of people living in Mumyuka *gombolola*, for example, bicycled in daily to the town. In Busiro, as in all the *saza* in the group except Kyadondo, the Ruanda and Rundi increased in numbers more than the Ganda; and in Busiro more in numbers than all the other African immigrants put together. More than half the Ruanda were living in the three northerly *gombolola* where the Ganda population was lowest and so it was easier to get land than elsewhere in the *saza*. There is insufficient published material to give a detailed analysis of the distribution of other immigrants within the *saza.*

Kabula.

The increases shown both for total population and for the Ganda population in Kabula were probably not real. In Kabula, as in Mawogola (see page 101) a good many people were probably out of the *saza* when the census was taken in 1931, and if the 1931 figures were too low, then the real total population increase would of course

TABLE VIII

POPULATION INCREASES OF 37 TO 47 PER CENT. BY SAZA, BUGANDA, BETWEEN 1931 AND 1948

Saza	1931	1948	Actual increase or decrease	Per cent. increase or decrease
Bulemezi				
Total African population	107,387	157,992	50,605 I	47 I
Ganda	93,374	99,344	5,970 I	6 I
Ruanda-Rundi	842	14,587	13,745 I	1,632 I
Other African immigrants	13,171	44,061	30,890 I	235 I
Gomba				
Total African population	23,603	34,603	11,000 I	47 I
Ganda	20,003	19,673	*330 D*	2 *D*
Ruanda-Rundi	1,141	9,293	8,152 I	715 I
Other African immigrants	2,459	5,637	3,178 I	129 I
Singo				
Total African population	69,613	101,712	32,099 I	46 I
Ganda	63,762	70,786	7,024 I	11 I
Ruanda-Rundi	1,842	17,303	15,461 I	839 I
Other African immigrants	4,009	13,623	9,614 I	240 I
Kyadondo				
Total African population	93,722	132,619	38,897 I	42 I
Ganda	80,084	91,366	11,282 I	14 I
Ruanda-Rundi	1,573	10,728	9,155 I	582 I
Other African immigrants	12,065	30,525	18,460 I	153 I
Busiro				
Total African population	72,645	102,450	29,805 I	41 I
Ganda	64,701	72,258	7,557 I	12 I
Ruanda-Rundi	1,020	12,762	11,742 I	1,151 I
Other African immigrants	6,924	17,430	10,506 I	152 I
Kabula				
Total African population	6,930	9,520	2,590 I	37 I
Ganda	4,074	5,740	1,666 I	41 I
Ruanda-Rundi	124	613	489 I	394 I
Other African immigrants	2,732	3,167	435 I	16 I

not be as great as Table VIII shows. Kabula became part of Buganda early in the century and the links between it and Ankole have always been strong, particularly as transhumance has been practised by cattle owners. It is reported that an Nkole coming into Kabula may, after a few years' residence there, call himself a Ganda, although in fact there are few true Ganda in the *saza* because of intermarriage with immigrants from Ankole and Toro. It therefore seems likely that in 1948 many more Nkole returned themselves as Ganda than did in 1931.

The overall increase of population in Kabula, apart from tribal differences, was undoubtedly encouraged by the improvement in water supplies, particularly in the west of the *saza*. Thirteen tank dams were constructed and one water hole bored under the direction of the Geological Survey between the two censuses, so that conditions for cattle-rearing were much improved. Of the non-Ganda in the area, nearly all were Nkole and Hima. The unreliable rainfall and the marginal nature of even the best land kept the total number of Ruanda and Rundi down to under 700, Kabula being essentially cattle country rather than a place to cultivate cash crops.

The *saza* listed in Table IX show markedly lower total population increases than those already discussed. None of the *saza* is very fertile, although three lie within the elephant grass zone; and none has large industries or plantations to offer employment.

Mawokota and *Butambala* are adjacent *saza*, both lying in the elephant grass zone in south Mengo District. Both *saza* showed very low increases in the Ganda population between 1931 and 1948; one explanation advanced for this is that neither *saza* was rich, so that young men tended to go to Singo or Buddu to make money.

Ruanda and Rundi, on the other hand, increased about 56 times more than the Ganda in Butambala; and increased ten times more than the Ganda in Mawokota. Here again, the Ruanda and Rundi were prepared to cultivate land which the Ganda were not, either because it was difficult to clear or because it was not thought sufficiently rich.

Mawokota and Butambala were the only two *saza* in Buganda where the African immigrant population other than the Ruanda and Rundi decreased between 1931 and 1948. In both cases the explanation was advanced that in the years immediately following 1931 the Ruanda and Rundi, Nkole and Haya used to come in to hire land for cotton-growing by the year, returning home after the crop had been picked and sold. Then the Ruanda and Rundi realised the advantage of taking up plots under customary land tenure, and began to do so, but the Nkole and Haya continued to come in by the year, until the Ruanda and Rundi had taken up most of the good land. The Nkole and Haya then found insufficient land of good quality to hire, and went into Busuju or Gomba instead.

TABLE IX

POPULATION INCREASES OF 12 TO 25 PER CENT. BY SAZA, BUGANDA, BETWEEN 1931 AND 1948

Saza	1931	1948	Actual increase or decrease	Per cent. increase or decrease
Mawokota				
Total African population	55,667	69,457	13,790 I	25 I
Ganda	45,274	46,664	1,390 I	3 I
Ruanda-Rundi	2,653	17,041	14,388 I	542 I
Other African immigrants	7,740	5,752	*1,988 D*	*26 D*
Sese				
Total African population	3,533	4,356	823 I	23 I
Ganda	3,350	3,829	479 I	14 I
Ruanda-Rundi	104	296	192 I	185 I
Other African immigrants	79	231	152 I	192 I
Mawogola				
Total African population	15,100(?)	18,468	3,368 (?) I	22 (?) I
Butambala				
Total African population	24,205	28,984	4,779 I	20 I
Ganda	20,707	20,809	102 I	0·5 I
Ruanda-Rundi	681	6,328	5,647 I	829 I
Other African immigrants	2,817	1,847	*970 D*	*34 D*
Buwekula				
Total African population	25,537	29,166	3,629 I	14 I
Ganda	24,552	24,644	92 I	0·4 I
Ruanda-Rundi	148	1,643	1,495 I	1,010 I
Other African immigrants	837	2,879	2,042 I	244 I
Koki				
Total African population	17,268	19,408	2,140 I	12 I
Ganda	16,778	16,411	*367 D*	*2 D*
Ruanda-Rundi	148	1,966	1,818 I	1,288 I
Other African immigrants	342	1,031	689 I	201 I

Sese showed a total population increase of 23 per cent. The Ganda increased by 14 per cent. while both the Ruanda and Rundi, and the other immigrants, nearly trebled. The Ganda formed 88 per cent. of the total population even in 1948, since the numbers of non-Ganda in the *saza* in 1931 were very small.

It is difficult to discuss the population increase in *Mawogola* because of insufficient evidence. (See page 101.) There is no doubt, however, that the numbers of Ruanda and Rundi increased, and that members of these two tribes went into the south-eastern *gombolola* of Sabaddu to cultivate.

Buwekula was the only *saza* in Mubende District to show an increase in total African population. The Ganda and Nyoro increased by only 0·4 per cent., and emigration took place, probably because of the remoteness of the *saza* and the desire of the educated Ganda to find employment elsewhere.

Although the Ruanda and Rundi increased ten times in number, there were still only 1,495 of them in the *saza* in 1948. Of the Ruanda alone, about half were to be found in the *gombolola* surrounding Mubende township, in the elephant grass zone, the others being scattered through the short grass region to the north and south.

The majority of other immigrants in 1948 were Nkole, who practised transhumance with their herds from Ankole and Mawogola to Sabagabo, Mutuba I and Mutuba II, the *gombolola* immediately north of Mawogola.

Koki, lying entirely within the short grass zone, showed a total population increase of 12 per cent. between 1931 and 1948. This was due to increases in the total number of Ruanda and Rundi, and to a lesser extent the other immigrants, as the Ganda population decreased by 2 per cent. In this respect, Koki resembled the other outer *saza* of Buganda and evidenced the emigration of the Ganda to more favoured *saza* in the Province.

The Ruanda and Rundi, although increasing 12 times over their numbers in 1931, were only 1,966 strong in Koki in 1948. Many of them were to be found in Mumyuka, the most fertile *gombolola* and the nearest to Buddu.

The four *saza* in Buganda, listed in Table X, which show a decrease in total population have several features in common. First, all are border *saza*, so access to south Buganda is more difficult than from other *saza*. Buvuma, itself in south Buganda, is an island group: Buruli is the most northerly *saza* of Buganda; Buyaga and Bugangazzi are away in the north-west. Second, in each case the decrease in total population was due to a decrease in the number of the Ganda themselves, as the Ruanda and Rundi and other immigrants all increased in numbers. The total numbers of Ruanda and Rundi even in 1948, however, were less than 500 in each *saza*, while the total number of other African immigrants was also low in proportion to total population. Finally, none of the four *saza* was densely populated in 1948, although Buyaga and Bugangazzi supported a much greater population than the other two.

Probably the most important single reason for the decrease of the Ganda population in these *saza* was their remoteness from the mainland of south Buganda and the lack of opportunities for employment. In Buvuma there was the added reason that in April, 1943,[1] the islands were classed as an infected area under the sleeping sickness regulations and the inhabitants were advised to leave. This probably accounted for the 40 per cent. decrease of the Ganda; a much higher percentage than in any other *saza*. In Buruli, which lies largely in the dry belt, the emigration of Ganda was encouraged because millet and cassava grew better than plantains, and many people left the *saza* to take up land in Mumyuka *gombolola* and Mutuba V *gombolola*, Bulemezi.

TABLE X

POPULATION DECREASES OF 3·5 TO 38 PER CENT. BY SAZA, BUGANDA, BETWEEN 1931 AND 1948

Saza	1931	1948	Actual increase or decrease	Per cent. increase or decrease
Buyaga				
Total African population ..	35,300	34,077	*1,223 D*	*3·5 D*
Ganda	35,039	31,797	*3,242 D*	*9 D*
Ruanda-Rundi	5	457	452 I	9,040 I
Other African immigrants ..	256	1,823	1,567 I	612 I
Bugangazzi				
Total African population ..	24,330	21,551	*2,779 D*	*11 D*
Ganda	23,969	20,760	*3,209 D*	*13 D*
Ruanda-Rundi	35	410	375 I	1,071 I
Other African immigrants ..	326	381	55 I	17 I
Buruli				
Total African population ..	24,259	17,997	*6,262 D*	*26 D*
Ganda	22,374	15,144	*7,230 D*	*32 D*
Ruanda-Rundi	44	72	28 I	64 I
Other African immigrants ..	1,841	2,781	940 I	51 I
Buvuma				
Total African population ..	3,774	2,354	*1,420 D*	*38 D*
Ganda	3,752	2,255	*1,497 D*	*40 D*
Ruanda-Rundi	0	38	38 I	—
Other African immigrants ..	22	61	39 I	177 I

Remoteness was also responsible for the small numbers of Ruanda and Rundi. All the *saza* are far away from the point of entry of these tribes.

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[1] Legal Notice No. 94, 1943; Supplement to *Uganda Gazette*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 10, 15th April, 1943.

Buruli had the highest percentage of other African immigrants in relation to total population. Of the 2,781 other immigrants returned in 1948, at least 2,060 were described as Lango. Buruli had very few Nkole or Hima immigrants, although one would expect to find that cattle-raising was important in a short grass *saza*. The main reason was that nearly all the cattle in the *saza* died between 1940 and 1945 from trypanosomiasis.

In Buyaga it is interesting to note the influx of Congo peoples, who by 1948 were said to be taking up plots of land and returning to the Congo only to fetch their families for permanent settlement in Buyaga.

Changes in the Sex Composition of the African Immigrant Population, 1931–48[1]

To compare the numbers of non-Ganda in each *saza* in 1931 with those of 1948 shows that a great increase in immigration took place in the intervening years, but it does not indicate how permanent such immigration might be. A brief study of the changes in immigrant male-female ratios between 1931 and 1948, however, gives grounds for supposing that settlement did in fact take place to a considerable degree.

Table XI lists the numbers of males to 100 females[2] in each *saza* in the two census years for the Ruanda and Rundi, and for other immigrants.

The great preponderance in 1931 of males over females for the immigrant population other than the Ruanda and Rundi indicates a population of shifting temporary migrants, many of whom had neither brought in their own families nor married locally and settled down. The proportion of males to females was highest (varying from 206 : 100 to 3,140 : 100) in the most densely peopled belt; this was the area where the country was most productive; where the non-African plantations were concentrated; and where the demand for immigrant labour both by large-scale employers and by African farmers and householders was greatest. The high proportion of immigrant males to females supports the theory that these foreigners came into this wealthy region, where there were opportunities of working for wages, for short periods at a time only as temporary labourers. Excluding the *saza* of Kabula and Mawogola, where special circumstances obtained, the proportion of males to females was lowest in just those areas where the immigrant population was lowest; that is to say, Koki, Buyaga, Buwekula and Bugangazzi, and the unproductive northern *saza* of Buruli and Bugerere. It seems likely that those immigrants who did enter these areas came in much more with the idea of settling, because of the lack of opportunity of working for wages, than did those who entered the rich lands to the west and south. If this were the case, it would not be surprising that the number of females in proportion to males was higher, because permanent settlers were quite likely to bring in their families with them.

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[1] The 1948 male-female ratios of the Ruanda and the Rundi, treated separately, are discussed in some detail in Miss Ross' and Mr. Sofer's unpublished "Survey of the Banyaruanda Complex," already quoted.

[2] In 1931, 15 *saza* had fewer than 100 Ruanda and Rundi females, and 3 had less than 100 other immigrant females; but the figures have been expressed as ratios of males to 100 females for convenience. In 1948 only 3 *saza* had fewer than 100 Ruanda and Rundi females, and 1 had fewer than 100 other immigrant females.

TABLE XI

AFRICAN IMMIGRANT MALE TO FEMALE RATIOS, BUGANDA, 1931 AND 1948

Saza	Ruanda and Rundi				Other African immigrants			
	1931		1948		1931		1948	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Buvuma ..	No men	No women	153	100	450	100	339	100
Bugerere ..	32 men	No women	611	100	161	100	145	100
Buruli ..	2 men	No women	555	100	185	100	151	100
Singo ..	4,290	100	227	100	809	100	176	100
Bulemezi ..	3,920	100	281	100	393	100	209	100
Busuju ..	3,620	100	185	100	495	100	212	100
Butambala	2,250	100	247	100	3,140	100	229	100
Sese ..	2,250	100	300	100	613	100	379	100
Busiro ..	1,820	100	263	100	759	100	304	100
Bugangazzi..	1,650	100	276	100	196	100	144	100
Buwekula ..	1,380	100	191	100	161	100	124	100
Mawokota ..	1,120	100	224	100	1,140	100	274	100
Kyadondo ..	1,060	100	420	100	446	100	321	100
Kyagwe ..	1,010	100	383	100	284	100	184	100
Mawogola ..	629	100	144	100	97	100	100·4	100
Gomba ..	462	100	167	100	497	100	133	100
Buddu ..	412	100	162	100	206	100	146	100
Koki ..	398	100	217	100	174	100	189	100
Buyaga ..	400	100	155	100	102	100	128	100
Kabula ..	303	100	125	100	88	100	108	100

The problems involved in the consideration of the Nkole and Hima in western Masaka District are discussed in Appendix A page 258). The immigrants there in 1931 were returned in the census almost entirely as Nkole. Whether or not these Nkole should be regarded as natives of Buganda, because of the transfer to that Province of Kabula and its inhabitants from Ankole; or as part immigrant cattle people disregarding the provincial boundary in the practice of transhumance between Ankole and western Masaka District, and part immigrant cultivators, the fact remains that the proportion of their males to females was much lower than that of other immigrant tribes. In each case it was less than 100 males to 100 females, so that it seems likely that even the migrant Nkole as opposed to the settled Nkole brought their families along with their herds in their search for pasture; or to stay with them during their seasonal migration to Buganda in order to cultivate.

By 1948 the proportion of males to females for immigrants other than the Ruanda and Rundi had fallen in 16 out of the 20 *saza*. This shows that the immigrants were bringing their families into Buganda with them to a much greater extent than in 1931. From this one may suppose that a good many immigrants had taken up land in the intervening period; if an immigrant was coming into Buganda to work temporarily as a labourer he would not be as likely to go to the trouble and expense of bringing his family with him as he would if he were intending to stay at least for some time. The fall in the number of males in proportion to the number of females was greatest in Butambala, Mawokota and Singo, where the changes in proportions were really remarkable.

The Ruanda and Rundi in 1931 showed an even higher proportion of males to females than did the other immigrants, supporting the supposition that in 1931 they entered Buganda largely as temporary wage-earners. The ratios varied from 300 to 500 men to 100 women in Buyaga, and in the south-west (Kabula, Koki and Buddu) where the Ruanda and Rundi were already beginning to take up land under the *kibanja* system and were thus able to set up their own homes. In Sese, Bugangazzi, Busiro and Butambala the ratios lay between 1,500 to 3,000 men to 100 women, and in Busuju, Bulemezi and Singo the ratio was over 3,100 men to 100 women. In the *saza* of Buruli and Bugerere far away in the north-east, there were no Ruanda or Rundi females at all; and the islands of Buvuma had no members of these tribes of either sex.

Falls in the proportion of Ruanda males to females between 1931 and 1948 were even more startling than those of the other immigrants, and in no *saza* did the proportion of males increase between 1931 and 1948. This again indicates that permanent settlement took place; but it should be remembered that the proportions of males to females for all immigrants were still high enough in 1948 to show that there was a considerable floating population of males probably employed temporarily for wages.

CONCLUSIONS

Extent of Immigration.

Although the description of population changes by *saza* has made it clear that overall the population of Buganda increased largely between 1931 and 1948, the full extent of the increase, and its nature, is perhaps best brought home by a comparison of the total figures. It has already been stated that the whole African population increased by approximately 49·6 per cent. This increase may be split up as follows:—

TABLE XII

POPULATION CHANGES, BUGANDA, 1931 TO 1948

Tribe	Increase in numbers	Per cent. of total population increase
Ganda	102,849	23·9
Ruanda and Rundi	183,906	42·8
Other African immigrants ..	142,956	33·3

In other words, the Ruanda and Rundi together not only increased more than the Ganda in actual numbers, but more than all the other African immigrants, and accounted for more than two-fifths of the whole African population increase in Buganda. The Ganda themselves were responsible for less than one-quarter of the total African population increase in their own province.

It is impossible without a much fuller investigation to assess the degree of settlement which has taken place within this immigrant population. The great increase in the proportion of females between the two censuses, however, leads one to suppose that a considerable amount of settlement took place.

Population Distribution.

In answer to the question "Where did the immigrants go once they were inside Buganda?" it may be said that their distribution was closely related to three main geographical zones which are dependant on rainfall. Cultivators, such as the Ruanda and Rundi, went mainly to the well-watered elephant grass zone of south Buganda, whether to work as labourers for African farmers or to take up land for themselves. Pastoralists on the other hand chose to visit the short grass zone, stretching from south-west Masaka District to Lake Kioga, which provided pasture for their herds. Both pastoralists and cultivators were to be found in the marginal zone suitable both for cattle and crops, lying on the fringes of the elephant grass zone. Those seeking paid employment on European or Asian owned plantations, or in businesses or factories, also came to the fertile arc of South Buganda, mainly to south Mengo District and particularly to Kampala, for it was this area which offered them the work they were looking for.

What of the Ganda themselves? They, too, favoured the fertile arc, emigrating from Mubende District which possesses very similar advantages of climate, soil and vegetation but had the great disadvantage of remoteness from the important social and commercial centres of the south. They also left their border *saza* for the same reason. They went instead to Busuju, south Bugerere and Kyagwe, and to Buddu where they could find enough empty land to let them make a career out of agriculture, employing large numbers of labourers to work on their plantations.

The Future.

Because of the movements of these people, population density in the fertile arc has increased so that it is no longer cheap or easy to obtain land there. The result of increased pressure on land has been fragmentation of holdings which makes large-scale African agricultural enterprise more difficult to achieve. Already a movement has begun into the marginal lands. Examples may be found in Sabaddu's *gombolola*, Mawogola, in Mumyuka, Singo and in northern Mumyuka and in Sabagabo, Bugerere. The limits to such movement will be imposed by the minimum amount of effective rainfall which may be expected in each rainy season, and the months in which the rain comes. The further one penetrates into the dry belt, the longer the dry season and the shorter the time available for planting, growth and harvesting of cash crops and food crops. The marginal zone has, however, the advantage of allowing large enough landholdings to make mechanisation an economic proposition, and so helping to lessen the effects of the labour shortage which is at present a deterrent to so many Ganda farmers who might be contemplating farming on a larger scale.

If population pressure in south Buganda increases still more, it is unlikely that the potentially valuable lands of Mubende District will be allowed to remain comparatively empty, as they are at present.

Increasing urbanisation and industrialisation in Buganda are probabilities which cannot be neglected. The rapid growth of Kampala, and of Jinja just across the border in Busoga, is bound to have an effect on density of population in the south of the Province. Abundant supplies of hydro-electric power from the Owen Falls scheme at Jinja should soon be available, and these will undoubtedly encourage new industries. The fertile arc will therefore become Buganda's industrial as well as agricultural centre, and urbanisation is likely to result.

In brief, expansion of the agricultural population may be expected in future in the marginal zone and in Mubende District; and of urban and industrial population within the fertile arc. If present trends continue, the Ruanda and Rundi will fall into the first category. The Ganda, on the other hand, are more likely to leave the less favoured agricultural lands and to take advantage of the opportunities for skilled labour and clerical workers in south Buganda, although it must not be forgotten that the great majority of the Ganda are still peasant cultivators.

CHAPTER V

METHODS OF SETTLEMENT IN BUGANDA

R. I. RICHARDS

The previous chapter describes the distribution of the immigrants throughout Buganda and some of the reasons which lead them to settle in one district rather than another. It also shows the extent to which foreigners are taking work as unskilled labourers in public works, plantations or industry at the present time. It has never been possible to calculate with any accuracy the proportion of immigrants working in the cotton plots of Buganda as distinct from its roads, workshops and plantations. The figures given in the 1938 Labour Report indicate that 24 per cent. of male immigrants were working in Government service (Protectorate and Buganda) and for private employers in 1937 and 76 per cent. on peasant holdings. A report made to the Inter-Territorial Meeting of Labour Officers in 1948 gives a rough estimate of 75,000 working for Ganda farmers or settled on the land out of a total of 100,000 immigrants. Such estimates are likely to be too low rather than too high as the rate of foreign settlement in Buganda has apparently been increasing rapidly. The figures are, however, of the same order of magnitude as those obtained from the camp samples. For instance, 75 per cent. of the immigrants passing through Kyaka Ferry had been employed on their first visit by Ganda farmers or had owned their own plots, and 55 per cent. of those travelling through Kabale camp.[1]

The absorption of foreigners into the peasant cultivation of Buganda is therefore still by far the most important aspect of the whole problem of immigration as far as numbers go. It is this process of absorption which will now be described.

Immigrants find their way into cotton production in four main ways—as paid labourers or "porters" (*abapakasi*); as tenants under customary land tenure (*abafunye bibanja*); as seasonal tenants (*abapangisa*); or as buyers of land (*abalina etaka*).

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

It appears that the first immigrants to work for Ganda employers were engaged as casual labourers. The term "porter," the usual translation of the Ganda term "*omupakasi*," was apparently adopted at a time when unskilled labourers were working for Europeans as head porters. It is now very generally used for any kind of labourer, even for a domestic servant employed by a wealthy African living in an urban area.

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[1] Appendix B, Table X.

The porters can be divided into three classes. The most numerous are the jobbing labourers who work for fixed tasks for which they are paid on completion. This practice is known as working *lejjalejja* (literally "one at a time"). The custom is for the employer to show a piece of work to the labourer, either measured by a stick, or "by the eye." The porter undertakes to dig up a piece of ground so long and so wide and bargains with his employer as to a fair price for the work. Agreements are apparently only reached after much haggling. Once the arrangement has been made, the porter is free to complete it whenever he pleases and he may have two or three tasks on hand at the same time. In fact, the go-as-you-please of this kind of jobbing labour probably accounts for its popularity among immigrants.

Casual labour of this sort is the method favoured by immigrants who have not brought their wives with them and do not want to set up a menage of their own. It is popular among groups of young men who have travelled to Buganda together and who like to live together and go out by day to work on different jobs. It is not uncommon to see three or four grass shacks where bachelor labourers of the same tribe live for a season supporting themselves by jobbing work. They pay 50 cents. a month to the landowner for the right to build a dwelling on his land, and they are then free to employ their time as they please. A camp containing eight young Nkole was discovered in Seseriba, one of the sample villages, and another of Alur close to it. Two somewhat similar Alur camps are described in Chapter VI.

Observation in the sample villages showed that *lejjalejja* work was also popular with older men of a roving type who did not like to tie themselves to one employer, or individualists who wanted money but who did not care to become anybody's servant.

Another form of jobbing labour is the custom, still common all over Buganda, of undertaking a measured piece of work in return for two or three days' food. Nineteenth century explorers describe the way in which their carriers were able to get food by working for the local inhabitants as they trekked through the fertile parts of Uganda. The practice is known here as *kasaka busasi*. The labourer is said actually to choose a bunch of bananas from a tree and to agree to complete a particular task in order to get the chosen bunch. But he also works for different kinds of relish and other forms of food as well. Working for food is quite sharply distinguished from other forms of jobbing labour in Ganda eyes even though the tasks done to secure food may be similar to those done for money. In early days it seems that most immigrant labourers were provided with food by their Ganda employers, but later when the towns grew larger and opportunities for the sale of bananas increased, the farmers became more and more reluctant to feed their labourers, and nowadays porters work for their food more often than not. This is especially the case in the area round Kampala, where both landowners and tenants want to sell their bananas in the urban markets. In Busiro, in a *gombolola* slightly further from the town, we were told of farmers who used their command of the food supply as a weapon to help them in the struggle for labour. They refused to sell food to porters who offered them money, because they wanted to force the immigrants to work for them instead. Their labour was more valuable to the landholder than the price of the bananas. In parts of Buddu, however, where porters are more numerous and food more plentiful, regular labourers are fed as well as being given their wages, but they are fed in return for additional labour above the set task agreed upon.

An afternoon's work will apparently produce enough food for two days and porters regularly employed work in this way two or three times a week over and above their other tasks. Men and boys carrying baskets of food on their heads are a common sight in a Ganda village of an evening. Ganda comment in answer to questions, "Of course they are foreigners! Who else would be going out at this time of day to bring back food?"

Other labourers are said to "work by the month," which is to say that they work regularly for one employer. These men usually live in a grass shack near their employer's house. They receive regular wages and in return they do three or four hours' work each morning and often some domestic work such as minding the baby or fetching firewood or water. Some labourers are treated almost as part of the household and sit in the courtyard when visitors are entertained, or join in the conversation from time to time. Others, and particularly those employed as cattle-herds, live apart in their own ramshackle dwellings. On big estates visited in Buddu, groups of porters were living together in what might be called dormitories opposite their employer's house. A labourer working for an individual employer is rarely supervised although the farmer often works with him. Like the jobbing labourer he is usually given a fixed task and is allowed to knock off work when it is done.

It is only on a big estate that something like an organised labour force exists and even then it is probably a rare occurrence. Both in Buddu and Kyagwe we came across landowners who had started life as employees on European plantations and had finally risen to positions as clerks or foremen. These kept "pay-rolls" in which they entered details as to wages handed out and the length of employment of individual labourers. One was employing a relative in a supervisory capacity described as a "foreman" and referred to the accommodation provided for some 20 porters as his "compound" or "lines." However, these developments must be reckoned as rather exceptional as yet. Most of the immigrants employed by the month still work very much after the fashion of the jobbing labourer except that they get a certain guaranteed monthly wage instead of the chance of casual employment, and they are attached to one Ganda household and perform odd domestic tasks for it.

Ganda farmers often say indignantly that the foreigners are becoming wealthy by accepting three or four "tickets" a month. The use of the word "ticket," usually employed for the monthly task allocated by a European or Indian employer, is here rather misleading. It probably means that a porter with one regular employer works one ticket for him in the morning and also three afternoons a week for his food. He may do a couple of afternoons' jobbing work as well. It is possible that in some areas where labour is so short that porters can get any conditions they like out of the Ganda farmers, a man may do two three-hour shifts or tickets as well as occasionally working for food, but only two out of 98 porters interviewed, admitted to doing so and two out of the sample 100 immigrants passing through Kabale camp. One of these had worked for three employers for two hours each and received Shs. 20 from each of them. Another had worked for two employers who each gave him Shs. 20 and he got his food by working when and where he could. But whatever the truth about the supposedly fabulous sums of money earned by immigrant labourers it seems that these men do not care to continue working at this pace although they may do so for a start. Settled immigrants in Buddu explained that they had finally taken up plots of land because they had got so tired of working for money in the morning and for food in the afternoon that they had begun to envy the much shorter working day of the Ganda peasant with whom they were associated (*cf.* pp. 224–5).

It is difficult to estimate the earnings of immigrant labourers on Ganda farms. For those employed by the month, figures in 1951 were recorded of Shs. 18 to Shs. 28 in Busiro; Shs. 20 to Shs. 25 with food and Shs. 25 to Shs. 35 without food in Buddu; and Shs. 25 to Shs. 35 in Bulemezi. Of those travelling through Kabale camp 33 per cent. were earning between Shs. 20 and Shs. 25; 22 per cent. between Shs. 15 and Shs. 20; and 18 per cent. between Shs. 25 and Shs. 30. The average earnings of 98 porters interviewed in three *gombolola* were as follows:—35·6 per cent. earned Shs. 15 to Shs. 20 a month; 49·4 per cent., Shs. 21 to Shs. 30 a month; 14·9 per cent., Shs. 31 and over. The highest rates given were in Buddu. But it must be remembered that these are minimum figures of the most easily remembered part of a man's total earnings. Nearly all these porters would be getting some extra money doing jobbing work, and a few, as we have seen, had two regular jobs and were thus earning Shs. 40 a month or more. The energetic jobbing labourer can probably make more than this on short spells of work, and the weak or lazy one less.

These figures change from year to year and have already risen above the figure current at the time of the survey. The significant points to remember are probably these. First, the wages of labourers have, owing to the present shortage, probably risen more than the price of cotton, making them relatively more expensive for the poorer peasant.[1] Secondly, they compare quite favourably with the wages paid in Government concerns or by non-African employers. For instance, the minimum Government wage in Kampala and Jinja at the time of the survey was Shs. 33 and that for labourers without food on the sugar plantation at Lugazi was Shs. 40. But the labourer on the African farm gets his wage much more easily than he would working in any non-African concern. In the first case he is doing a three- to four-hour day unsupervised with occasional additional chores in the house, and in the latter an eight-hour day, supervised by a foreman. Even among African employers, the Ganda have apparently got a reputation for being "kind." Rundi are said to walk through Bukoba where their labour is wanted by the Haya because they would rather work for the Ganda. They prefer to walk an extra 200 miles or so in order to be sure of the much shorter working day in Buganda.

It seems likely that the regular employment of labourers is nowadays limited to wealthy men. Some of the earlier reports give the impression that all Ganda peasants have labourers working for them. Mair, writing in 1934, states that "anyone with an acre or two of cotton likes to employ about five labourers," although few had more than three.[2] But it must be realised that such a man would be reckoned as having quite a large holding in many parts of Buganda. The peasant uses, if he can, three to four acres for his house-site, his banana garden (*lusuku*) and for the rest of his food crops, such as beans, sweet potatoes, ground-nuts and the like. He is advised to rest half of his land although it is doubtful whether a man on a small holding would actually use more than one acre for such a purpose. Thus, in order to grow an acre of cotton he would need a total plot of five acres, and many peasants in the old settled parts of the country have much smaller holdings than this.[1] Orde-Browne's statement in 1946 that Ganda farmers used "anything from 5 to 50, or even 100 or more, casual labourers, usually for seasonal requirements"[2] can only have referred to districts with unusually large holdings such as Buddu and parts of Bulemezi where 60 to 90 acres are being farmed by some Ganda.

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[1] Ganda remember the days when labour could be had for Shs. 8 a month and such rates were current when Dr. Mair visited Buganda in 1933 (*An African People in the Twentieth Century*, p. 128). The 1938 Labour Report records rates of Shs. 10 a month with food and Shs. 22 without food. (*Cf.* also Chapter II *supra*.)

[2] *An African People in the Twentieth Century*, p. 127. The 1938 Labour Report suggests that only the larger landowners employed porters and those in the richest counties. *Op. cit.* paras. 63 and 64.

At the present time, the higher rates of wages and the lower number of immigrants have probably caused a considerable reduction in the total labour force employed per head of the population. Mair's cultivator with an acre or two of cotton would be more likely to satisfy himself with one or two porters, and a number of cultivators with total plot sizes of 3 to 5 acres have no outside help at all. In the *mutala* surveys carried out by the Department of Agriculture in 1938 the peasants in one sample village in Buddu (Kawoka) had on an average 1·4 acres of cultivated land per family, but 21 out of 90 of these had porters up to a maximum of 8, giving an average of 0·71 per land-holder. In a second village in the same *saza* (Kayuji), but with poorer conditions, 66 families had only 17 porters, an average of 0·25 porters per holding.[3] From the tables in Appendix C giving details of the present sample villages it can be calculated that the villagers in Buddu (Luwoko) had an average of 0·3 porters per head with an average of 10·9 acres per holding, while in Busiro the figure went down to 0·1 with an average of 5·8 acres per holding, and in Kyagwe 0·2 per head with an average of 4·1 acres per holding. We found *miruka* in Busiro and Kyagwe where no porters were employed at all. We were told of farmers with as many as 100 porters in Buddu, but did not find more than 60 working for any one man in that county or more than 20 on estates in Busiro (*cf.* Chapter IX).

Others probably use jobbing labour from time to time. It will be seen from the account of the sample villages that the majority of large and small farmers were clamorous in their demands for more labour. A further discussion on the extent of the dependence of the cotton and coffee cultivator on foreign workers appears in Chapter VIII.

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[1] The Department of Agriculture figures for the average size of cotton plot in the *gombolola* chosen for the survey are as follows: Busiro: Mumyuka, 0·91 acres; Mutuba III, 1·14 acres; Kyagwe: Mutuba VII, 0·57 acres; Buddu: Musale, 0·47 acres.

[2] G. St. J. Orde-Browne, *op. cit.*, para. 340.

[3] J. D. Tothill, "A report on 19 surveys done in small agricultural areas in Uganda with a view to ascertaining the position with regard to soil deterioration," 1938.

These three forms of labour—the jobbing labourer, the man who works intermittently for food and the regular porter—are available to the Ganda farmer and he makes what use he can of them. It might be asked why he does not feed his labour if he wants to get more work out of his porters. The answer probably is that the smallholder does not want more than half-a-day's assistance and that he only occasionally has a surplus of bananas which he then tends to sell, in order to get ready money. The larger land-holder feeds his labour when he has plentiful food but not otherwise. It would probably pay him to provide food in order to keep his labour but it is doubtful whether he makes such a profit and loss account.

The immigrant sells his labour as his temperament and immediate needs dictate. In fact he may often use all three types of employment at once and it is the variety of short-term individual contracts that he is able to make that gives him such an easy footing in Buganda. Thus regular porters may be working in the afternoons for food but they may also beg a piece of land from their employer as well and perhaps rent it for less than the current value in return for extra services such as fetching water. A foreign tenant holding land under customary tenure may work as a jobbing labourer until he gets his food crops planted. A seasonal tenant may work for a Ganda for food and give all the rest of his time to growing cotton. For instance, a Lugbara, employed in Busiro, did 4½ hours' work for his Ganda employer for Shs. 30 month. He had a plot for which he gave no rent but gave domestic service to his master. A Rundi worked 3 hours a day for a fixed wage of Shs. 20 a month and 3 hours on a jobbing task which he stopped whenever he wanted to earn food. A Kiga was working for a fellow-tribesman in Busiro. He got Shs. 20 a month and his food. He did garden work and helped in the house, as his master had lent him his bus fare. A series of such individual contracts could be quoted.

It cannot be pretended that such informal arrangements achieve the most efficient use of foreign labour, but they give that element of individual freedom that the immigrant likes. They allow a man to work at his own pace. They also make it possible for him to work for food he likes, i.e. bananas, rather than for the less appreciated foods like sweet potatoes which his employer is apt to give him. They give full play to the bargainers' wits on either side. They involve the foreigner in a series of individual ties with

Ganda peasants which ultimately allow him to get a footing in their society. Such conditions contrast favourably for him with plantations where "we work all day" or "we work every day" or "they make us work even when it rains." During 1951 the porters at Katikamu Seventh Day Adventist Mission struck for a wage of Shs. 35. They said that the Ganda were willing to pay that amount and that their system of laying out the work to be done at the beginning of the day so that the porters were free when they had finished, to work elsewhere for food or money, was preferable to working for a full day at the Mission.[1]

CUSTOMARY TENANTS.

Immigrants can also be absorbed into peasant agriculture as land-holders according to customary, or some more modern form of land tenure. The customary land tenure of the Ganda is a curious blend of traditional and modern features.

Before the signing of the 1900 Agreement, the Ganda peasant (*mukopi*) held land from a chief. Chiefs were hereditary (*bataka*) or king's favourites (*batongole*), who had been allotted land by the Kabaka which they held at his pleasure. These stretches of land were known as *bitongole*—an untranslatable word which conveys the English idea of official responsibility, charge or even fief. The chiefs who received or held land from the king in this way were responsible for collecting taxes for the king and for providing soldiers when required, and they themselves in turn received dues from their peasants in terms of work, food, beer, bark cloth and other commodities as well as military service. The lord had various administrative and supervisory duties and listened to cases brought by one peasant against another. The peasant on his side received a plot of land of an unspecified size described as "as much as he could cultivate" and on this land he built himself a house and made his banana garden (*lusuku*) and here in time he would be buried. The house site and the land round it were known as his *kibanja* and the term "*kibanja* system" is still sometimes applied to the much modified form of customary land tenure that now exists. As in other systems of Bantu land tenure the peasant could hold the land as long as he paid his dues to his chief and as long as he was still cultivating it; otherwise it returned again to his lord. With the wars and intrigues that were common at the end of the nineteenth century, the control of land passed rapidly from one hand to another[2] and the peasant on the land might follow his old lord to a new district or transfer allegiance to a new one. The relationship between *mukopi* and *mutongole* was a direct personal one even though it was not always a permanent one. The peasant was described as his lord's "man" (*omusajja*) or his *musenze.* The lord was *mukama wange,* "my lord" or *omwami wange,* "my chief."

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[1] Information recorded by John H. Dean who was engaged on a land utilisation study in that area.

[2] *Vide* Lugard, *The Rise of our African Empire*, 1893. Heads of clans claimed permanent rights over land on which their ancestors had been buried (*butaka* land) and tried to reassert their claims to such land once the main part of Buganda had been allocated.

By the new *mailo* system introduced in 1900 the king and a number of the existing "landlords," to use the term in its original sense, were granted a kind of freehold over the estates they happened to be occupying. They ceased to be dependent on the king's pleasure and obtained permanent security of holding, together with the quite new right to buy and sell land and to pass it on to their heirs. Their rights extended to enormous stretches of land from one square mile to eight or even more. The chiefs, now commonly referred to as landowners, retained much of their old power, their rights to allocate land, their authority over their "men," now described as tenants, and their position in the political councils of Buganda. They could still demand services from their peasants, and when cotton was introduced at the beginning of the century and peasants asked for extra land on which to grow the new crop, they began to levy toll on the cotton grown under the title of *envujo.* They seem also to have made other demands considered excessive. In fact, after granting such unusual privileges to the small body of men then in positions of authority in Buganda and to their heirs, the Government began to feel it necessary to take steps to safeguard the interests of the peasants, whose rights had not been defined in 1900. These steps culminated in the remarkable *Busulu and Envujo Law* of 1927, which may be considered as the charter of the Ganda *mukopi* and is still enforced with small amendments to the present day.[1]

By the 1927 Law the peasant was to render the owner "all respect and obedience prescribed by native law and custom" although these customary rights cannot be or are not enforced at the present time. The claims of the Chief-landowner to dues in food and other commodities were commuted to a fixed "rent" of Shs. 10 a year known as the *busulu* (from *kusula*—to stay or live in a place) with an addition of Shs. 2 on each brew of beer made by a peasant and a levy on bark cloths. The additional *envujo* dues which it had become customary to levy on cotton were fixed in the same way at Shs. 4 an acre or Shs. 8 from one to three acres with further sums on additional acreage, to be agreed between landowner and peasant. The Shs. 10 *busulu* was to be paid whatever the size of plot held, and this sum has remained fixed since that date whatever the subsequent increase in the value of land in commercial terms.[1]

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[1] The Busulu and Envujo Law, 1927. Principal Amendment, 29th February, 1944 (*Uganda Gazette*, No. 43.)

The peasant who could produce evidence that he had paid his *busulu* in the form of a written receipt, now known as the "*busulu* ticket," was to be secure in his possession of his *kibanja* and was not to be evicted unless he left his land derelict for more than six months, and then only on the order of a court. The court had also to assess compensation for trees, houses or other improvements introduced by the peasant who wanted to leave his plot or was obliged to do so. Eviction was, in fact, to be difficult for a landlord to achieve and expensive even if he managed to get an order in court. Once having paid *busulu* for a *kibanja*, the *mukopi* was not only secure in his possession of the land, but he could pass it on to his heirs. He could not, however, sublet it without the landlord's permission.

Thus having given unprecedented privileges of freehold to the chiefs and notables in 1900, the Government subsequently limited the powers of these landlords in a way which would be thought unusual in other countries with individual land tenure. The owner of some of these enormous estates allocated in 1908 and 1909, or his descendant, has no power to exploit his land if it is densely occupied with tenants; to raise the so-called "rent" of Shs. 10 fixed 25 years ago where the value of the land has risen; to end a lease; or to get rid of a tenant who is unwanted. Hence though *mailo*-owners are commonly assumed by Europeans to be excessively wealthy as "owners" of one or more square miles of land, they may, in fact, get a very moderate return from tenants paying *busulu* and certainly a very small fraction of what they could have got if the "rent" had not been pegged at Shs. 10 a year so long ago.[2] Self-made men who have managed to buy empty land recently are often wealthier. Speculators certainly are.

Landowners react, as do their fellows in other countries, where rent has been restricted by law, by demanding a form of key-money or entry money from a man who takes up a plot. This sum is commonly referred to as giving "a cock" to the landlord—a survival of the custom of giving a fowl to the courtier who presented an appeal or a case to a chief on behalf of a commoner. Other phrases used are "to give a *kansu* to the landlord" or "a little sugar" or "a little something for his lunch" (*kye musana*)—said to be derived

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[1] The landowner actually gets Shs. 8/50. The additional Shs. 1/50 is a tax for medical dues to be paid by the landowner on each "rent." This is collected by the local government authorities direct. (*Cf.* p. 83.)

[2] Their political privileges of course remain and are described below. Land speculators, who are now becoming shrewd and rapacious, make more money in modern Buganda than chiefs or *mailo*-owners.

TYPES OF WORK I

PLATE VIII. Young Ruanda on his first spell of work for a Ganda farmer.

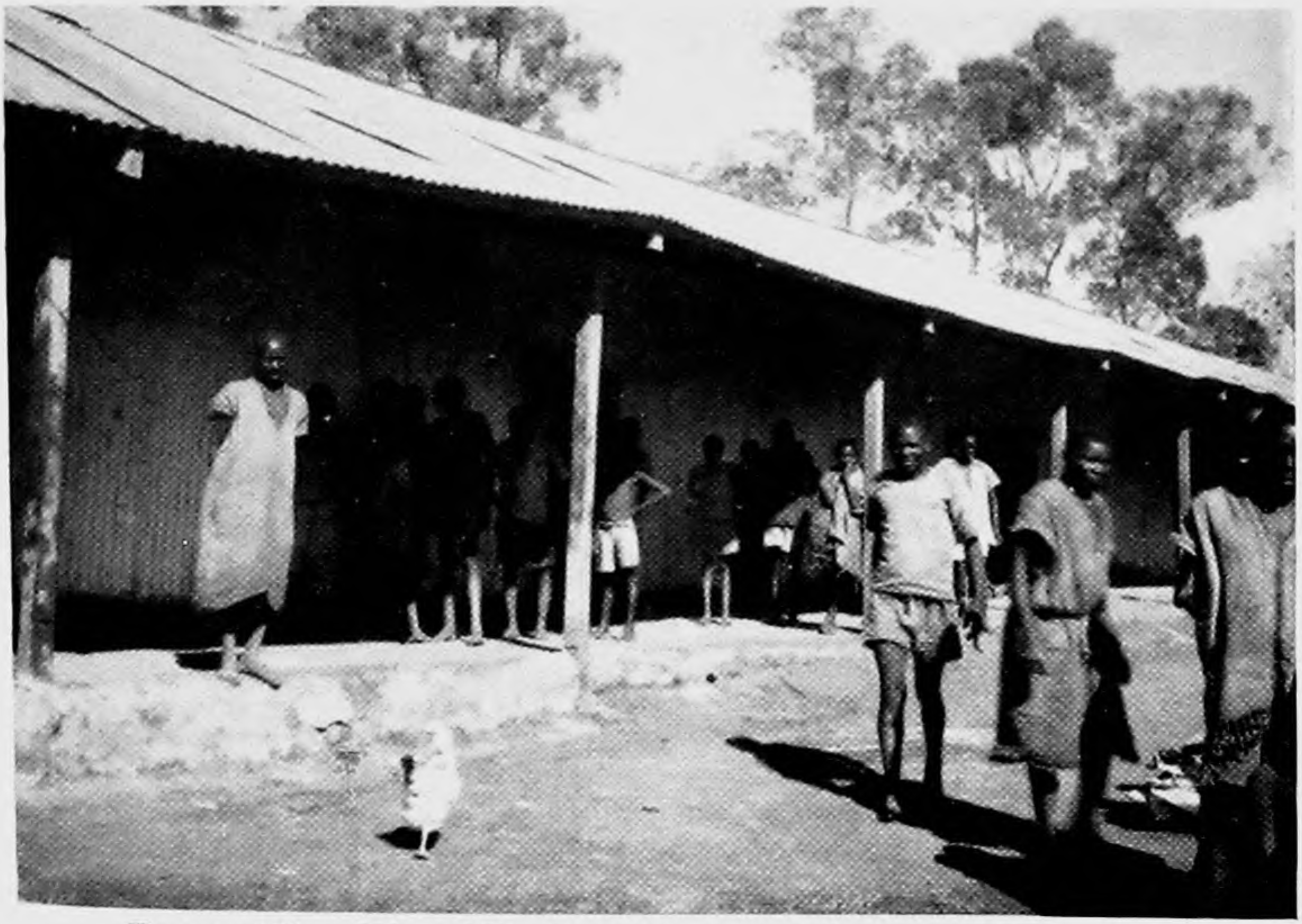

PLATE IX. West Nile immigrants on Lugazi sugar estate.

TYPES OF WORK II

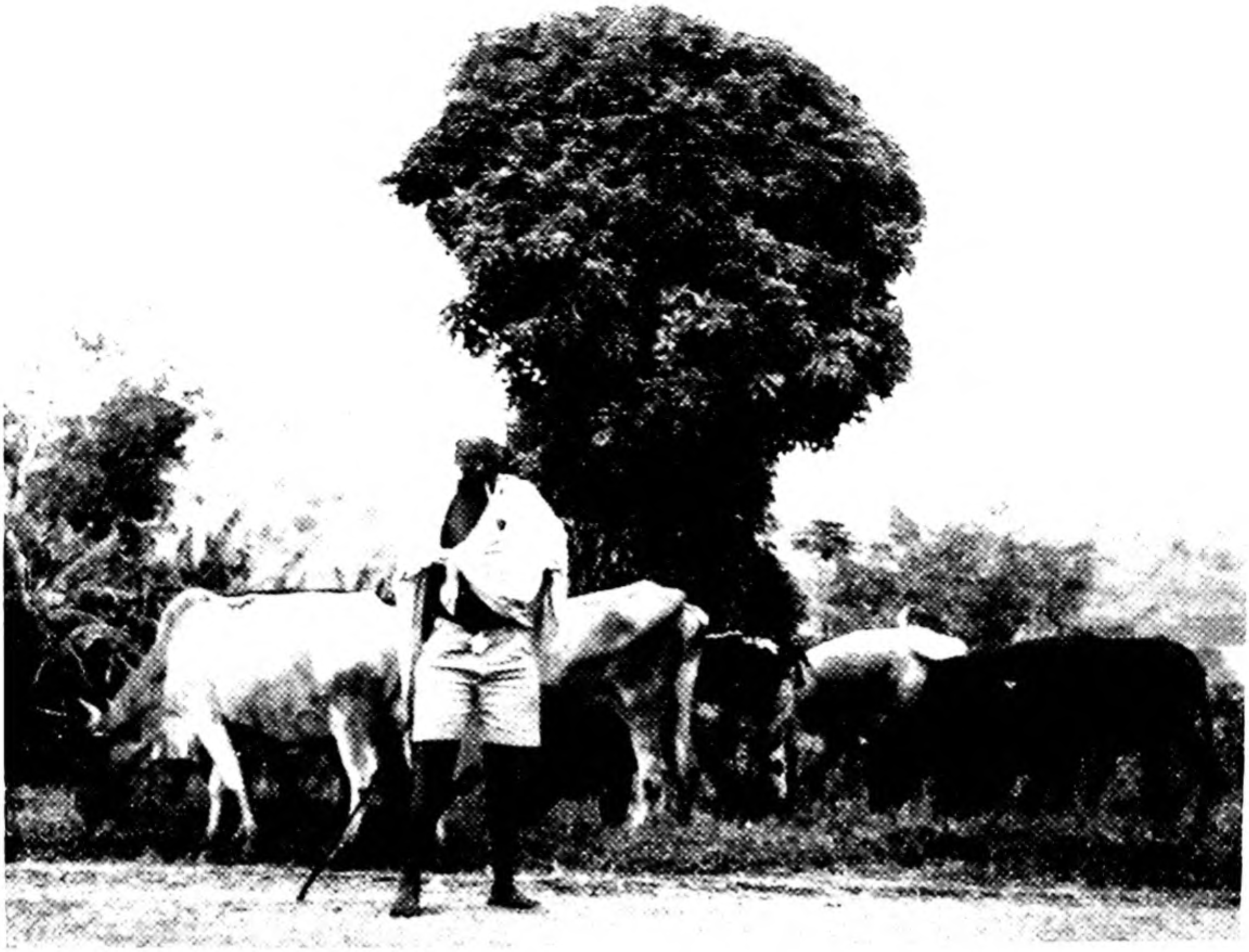

Plate X. Nkole immigrant herding cattle for a Ganda owner.

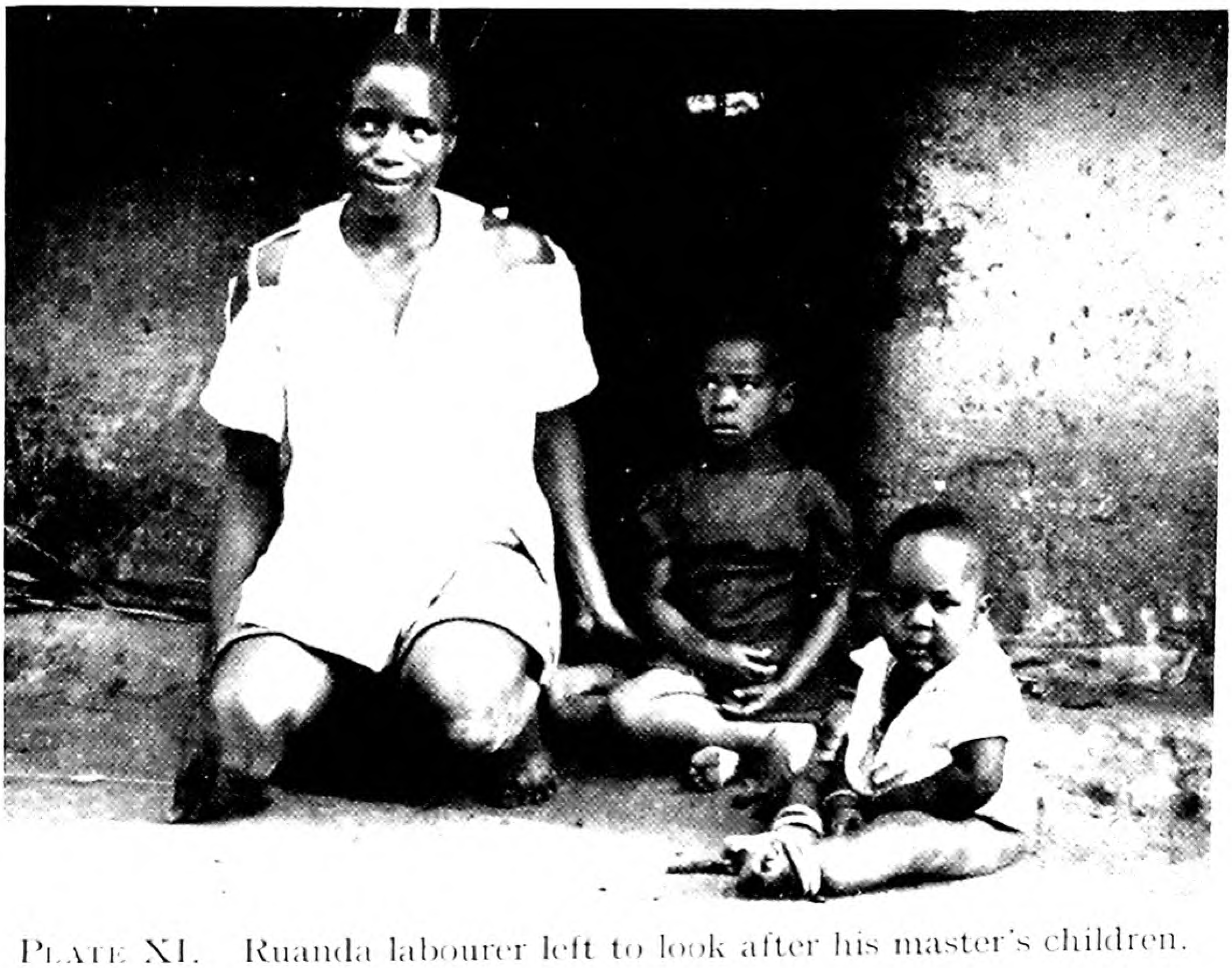

Plate XI. Ruanda labourer left to look after his master's children.

from the custom of giving a clerk a small present to procure an interview with an administrative officer.

The payment of entry money is said to have come from Bulemezi in the first instance, but it is evidently very wide-spread now. The sum varies according to the type of land. Uncultivated bush or infertile land is often handed over without any entry money, and in Musisi many plots had been so allocated, while the rest had been handed over for sums as small as Shs. 50. But where land is valuable or coffee and banana trees have been planted, sums varying from Shs. 100 to Shs. 1,000 have been recorded.[1] Such transactions are commonly discussed, but many landlords and some *miruka* chiefs were reluctant to admit that the practice occurred. Landowners invariably denied that they themselves got anything from such deals, although they admitted that their deputies might do things they were not aware of. These statements seem to have been incorrect in a number of cases. Absentee landowners may not be able to make money out of such charges but it seems probable that resident landlords do get some proportion of them. The entry money is thus not illicit in the sense that there is any legal prohibition of such individual arrangements between landlord and tenant, but it is often discussed as though it were an "under the counter" transaction. Few cases of dispute over *kye musana* payments come to court as the custom is not covered by the Busulu and Envujo Law or its amendments. The transactions are also usually made without witnesses. Foreigners who do not know the whole history of the evolution of the *kibanja* system simply talk of "buying" plots.

Some landowners also try to escape from the permanency of a customary tenure by refusing to give a *busulu* ticket to an immigrant tenant who may be unaware of its importance, so that the latter cannot claim the protection of the 1927 Law. He may raise difficulties about boundaries sometimes fixed without witnesses and try to divide up a *kibanja* into two.

Nevertheless, the *kibanja* system is on the whole very much in favour of the customary tenant. Ganda peasants prize it and express great surprise that Englishmen do not have such a method of tenure. They ask "How do they (Englishmen) find anywhere to build a house if they can't get a *kibanja*?" "How can they be safe from their landlord?" Immigrants who want to settle also want this type of land-holding above all others since it means that they cannot legally be evicted and their plots are secure for their heirs. They comment on the favourable conditions of land-holding in Buganda as compared to those of their own countries and are prepared to put up with unpleasantness from Ganda landowners and peasants for the sake of this type of holding. In the villages studied in Busiro, 65·2 per cent. of the immigrants were settled on customary plots, in Kyagwe 61·9 per cent. and in Buddu 55·8 per cent.

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[1] The last mentioned was a case reported in Bulemezi.

From the landowners' point of view there are also some advantages in securing foreign tenants. These outsiders will take up plots of marginal fertility which Ganda peasants will not cultivate and, as has been shown, they are ready to give more service to the landowner and probably more "entry money."

SEASONAL TENANTS.

Landowners also make money by renting land for short periods either for one season or for two or three successive ones. This practice is known as *ukupangisa.* The tenant comes not to settle but specifically to grow cotton. He does not ask for a house site but merely builds himself a temporary grass shack. He very often does without a regular food garden, but works for his food as described above. When he has gathered his cotton he pays dues on a share-cropping basis, the share usually being fixed at one bag of cotton per plot (worth Shs. 45 at the time of the survey), or in some areas two bags of cotton and additional dues. The seasonal tenants usually leave after disposing of their cotton, often not staying till the time of the burning of the old cotton plants demanded by Government regulations in March of each year. Seasonal tenants naturally do not grow coffee which takes three or four years to bear.

This type of tenancy is based on purely commercial considerations on each side. It carries with it none of the rights of permanent occupation which customary tenants enjoy and it is not governed by laws enforceable in the courts of Buganda, as is the holding of customary plots. It is not clear when this practice of renting land became common. It was evidently considered a very usual practice in 1937 since the Elliot Report mentions the leasing of plots on seasonal tenancy for Shs. 60 to Shs. 70. There are further comments on this method of land-holding in the 1938 Labour Commisison Report. It seems to have been almost entirely limited to foreigners from the first.[1] This Report states that 55 per cent. of the renting of land took place in Buddu and Bulemezi and the immigrants affected were mainly Ruanda and Zinza in the former country, and people from the West Nile in the latter. Instances of Alur and

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[1] Although a Ganda, secure on his house-site (*kibanja*) can ask for extra land on which to grow cash crops, he may be asked to pay extra rent on this as well as the *envujo.*

Lugbara renting land in Singo, Busiro, Bulemezi and elsewhere are also mentioned in this report (*cf.* Chapter VI). It is a method that suits the landowner who makes much more profit by this means than from a customary tenant and who does not thereby involve himself in a permanent agreement with a man whom he may not care to have as a near neighbour for ever. From the foreign tenant's point of view it is a system that suits a bachelor since it is rare for a man to be given a *kibanja* unless he is married and wants to set up house. It also enables the immigrant to come and go from year to year, sometimes leaving his family at home while he grows and picks his cotton crop and returns with the sum made by its sale.

CROWN TENANTS, PLANTATION TENANTS AND SOLDIER SETTLEMENT SCHEMES.

A certain number of cultivators are tenants on Crown land. Here the legal position is that a temporary occupation licence, costing Shs. 10 entitles a Crown land tenant to a plot not exceeding five acres in size. He does not pay *envujo*. If he wishes to take out a larger plot he must pay for another temporary occupation licence. Thus, theoretically, he could have ten acres for Shs. 20. At a settlement visited in Buddu the rent was described as Shs. 10 on any plot up to three acres, and Shs. 20 up to seven acres, but as none of the plots were surveyed this was probably an attempt to classify small and large plots.[1] These plots were being specially used for the settlement of immigrants who had had disagreements with their landowners, according to the account of one of the *miruka* chiefs in charge. In Nyangabewekere, one of the sample villages, there were, for instance, 75·7 per cent. immigrants among the tenants on one Crown estate.

Three ex-soldier settlements were established in Buganda after the war. The procedure for allocating the land was that selected individuals, after occupying a fifteen-acre plot for two years, provided they developed the land satisfactorily and according to certain rules, were issued with a provisional certificate of ownership of the plot. After seven years, provided their tenure has continued to be satisfactory, the final title to the land will be confirmed. In Musale's *gombolola*, Buddu, 29 soldiers had been settled on these fifteen-acre holdings which had been previously surveyed. These men had presumably been issued with their provisional certificate of ownership, since they stated that after seven years they would become definite owners of the land. Some immigrants who had served in the army were settled on these plots, e.g. 29·7 per cent. in Mugaju, one of the sample villages. It appears that the proportion of immigrants on the Buddu settlement is very much higher than on the others, owing to the fact that the land is not very good and all available plots have not been applied for by people who are Ganda by birth. The rights of immigrants in the settlement as regards obtaining final certificates are still a matter for decision.

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[1] Crown land in other areas, e.g. near Kawanda Experimental Station, seems to be more carefully measured.

A considerable number of immigrants are now settled on land on non-African estates or near them. Since land is a big attraction to them, many plantation managers try to keep labour by giving out plots. The division between peasant and plantation labourer is not a sharp one. Some employees work in the morning on an estate and in the afternoon work *lejjalejja* in the surrounding districts for food. Others work casually in the plantation when work is slack in their own gardens. At a Uganda Company estate with 462 workers, 21 per cent. of the labour houses itself on the estate and 4 per cent. in the neighbourhood. Of these labourers, 96 per cent. are reckoned as working regularly. At Lugazi sugar factory in 1950, 3,000 out of 8,000 labourers, or 37·5 per cent. of the total labour force, housed themselves, some in a roadside settlement and some on plots on the estate; whereas in a small tea estate in Busiro, Temangalo, there were only 60 permanent labourers out of a necessary 200, and these were all housed on plots given them by the management. The rest of the immigrant labour had plots in the surrounding villages and worked on the tea estate at will.

ALIEN LANDOWNERS.

A certain number of foreigners might in theory become landowners in Buganda. There is no prohibition on the sale of land to "natives" of the Protectorate; though the sale or leasehold of land to "non-natives" is illegal without the consent of the Governor and the Lukiko, by the Buganda Land Law of 1908 and subsequent amendments. The term "native" is defined by an Ordinance of 1945 as "any person who is a member of, or anyone whose parent is or was a member of, an indigenous African tribe or community."[1] Under these provisions it is clear that a member of any tribe within the Protectorate, whether from Ankole, the West Nile or elsewhere, has the right to buy freehold titles to land, although a native of Ruanda-Urundi or Tanganyika has not.

In fact, however, the sale of land to non-Ganda is comparatively rare. Land ownership is still associated with political rights and social status and hence there is considerable feeling against a foreigner becoming a landowner (*mutongole*) in his own right. In the analysis of the tax registers of three of the sample *gombolola* visited, only four immigrant landowners were discovered in Busiro—a Toro, a Nyoro, a Luo and a Lugbara; and three cases were found in Buddu where three Nkole had paid for or inherited 20 acres, 40 acres and 80 acres respectively. The sale of small plots to foreigners is likely to be higher in suburban areas but nevertheless it has probably reached negligible proportions as yet. Ganda who are alarmed at the speed at which immigrants are invading their country are apt to comfort themselves by the thought that these men are merely tenants and not permanent landowners. The Central *Lukiko* passed a resolution in December, 1951, that the Land Law of 1908 should be amended to read "the landlord will not be permitted to sell land to anyone who is not a Muganda" in lieu of "to one who is not of the Protectorate."[1]

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[1] "An Ordinance to define in more precise terms the expression 'native.'" No. 17 of 1945.

Immigrants are thus settling in Buganda permanently as customary tenants and very occasionally as landowners, and less permanently as seasonal tenants or labourers. The relative numbers of these different classes of immigrants are difficult to estimate. A questionnaire was apparently sent out to chiefs in 1937 for the benefit of the Commission of Enquiry which published its report in 1938. As a result tables were published which showed that out of 114,000 male immigrants, 23·7 per cent. were estimated to be working for the Government (Protectorate and Buganda) and in private undertakings as regular unskilled labourers; 19·3 per cent. as labourers or seasonal tenants; 32·5 per cent. were presumed to be jobbing labourers on Ganda farms; and 24·5 per cent. customary tenants.[2]

No further questionnaire of this sort has been sent out. From the tables in Appendix C it will be seen that in the sample villages the proportions were as follows:—

	Busiro	Kyagwe	Buddu
	%	%	%
Customary tenants	65·2	61·9	55·8
Seasonal tenants	12·2	11·9	—
Porters or unstated ..	22·6	26·2	44·2

TYPES OF IMMIGRANT.

These visitors to Buganda can be divided into a number of quite well-marked categories. Some are relatively little in contact with

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[1] Not yet approved. In fact a foreign tenant may be actually as permanent a fixture as a landowner by the customary method of holding described above.

[2] 1938 Labour Commission Report, para. 67. There are no data on the way in which this information was collected or what form of questionnaire was used.

Ganda and for quite short periods, whereas others have been constantly in touch with them for many years.

The single porter on a Ganda farm has considerable contact with his employer's family but the cattle-herds may live some distance away from the main household and Hima herdsmen, whether from Ankole or Ruanda-Urundi, give an impression of being self-contained and aloof. Where there are larger groups of porters, as on the big estates in Buddu, the men seem to live together cooking and eating in their own cluster of huts and two such labourers were surprised when asked whether they got on well with the Ganda and said, "We don't see them much. They don't talk to us." Casual labourers engaged on jobbing work also live apart as has been described, and the life of a small colony of Alur or Nkole appears at any rate to be self-contained. Contract labourers on plantations also seem to live apart from the local inhabitants. Lugbara housed by the sugar company at Lugazi had evidently come to work in groups of friends and they slept in dormitories together and cooked and ate in messes. The same kind of segregation on tribal lines is said to exist on other big plantations. These contract workers at Lugazi replied in answer to our question in the same fashion as the labourers quoted above. "The Ganda? We do not talk to them much."

Tenants are naturally those who mix most constantly with the Ganda, especially where a single member of one tribe lives alone with his family in a village. This usually means a customary tenant who started life as a porter and has found himself a suitable plot on which to settle after he has become used to the country. Some immigrants come in groups and settle together and it is common to find three or four houses built together and inhabited by close relatives. Homesteads of Rundi of this type were found in Musisi village (*cf.* pp. 248–51). Seasonal farmers and particularly groups of men who come from the West Nile to grow a patch of cotton each year in Buganda appear to be even more isolated from the rest of the village to which they are attached.[1]

It is obviously not only the number of foreigners who live in close association together that determines their degree of self-sufficiency but also the length of their stay in Buganda as a whole and more especially in a particular village. Migration histories show that there is a considerable amount of movement from place to place and job to job within Buganda. Of 38 labourers interviewed, 17 had changed their job once; 12 twice, 4 three times, 2 four times and 3 five times. Of 41 householders in the sample villages, 25 had changed their plots once before occupying their present site; 5 had changed it twice, 7 three times and 3 four times. Men move from one side of Buganda to another; and from work on plantations to casual labour on Ganda cotton; from unskilled work on roads to a position of customary tenant. For instance, a Ha from the Tanganyika border of Ruanda-Urundi had started life as a canoe man at Tabora, where he had gone with relatives. Next year he is found as a porter in Buddu to which area he makes three successive trips of six months each before settling on a plot of his own. A Ruanda worked for six months in Bulemezi in the centre of Buganda and then moved during the same trip to Buddu on its western border, where he worked for a year as a porter before returning home. An Alur found working as a seasonal tenant in Busiro had spent from 1927 to 1933 in Buganda of which the first six months had been spent on a coffee estate, the next two years on a tea estate and the remaining three years growing his own cotton on a rented plot. He returned again from 1933 to 1937 and this time took up a plot in customary tenure for one year and rented land for the season in another district for the second year. He then had a short period at home and was back from 1937 to 1949 during which he occupied two customary plots, one for two years and the second in quite a different district for ten years. A Rundi who had made six successive visits to Buganda, worked first in Bulamezi, next in Busiro, then in Kyagwe, where he spent six years, then in Buddu where he was for seven years, and he was now returning home on holiday from a seven years' stay on a plot held in Kyagwe.

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[1] *Cf.* Southall's account of an Alur community with its own cotton plots and headman in Chapter VI.

Occasionally immigrants have two homes and journey between them. A Nyamwesi who had lived some years in Entebbe and married a Ganda wife there, found that this woman refused to settle down happily at his parental home near Mwanza in Tanganyika. Determined not to relinquish his cotton plot in Buganda, he regularly travelled from farm to farm by steamer, supervising his two estates and leaving his Ganda wife in Buganda and a Nyamwesi wife in Tanganyika. When the investigator expressed surprise, he smiled blandly and said, "What does it matter? The British flag flies in both places."

The data give the impression of a body of men who may have left home mainly for economic reasons but who travel from place to place and job to job within Buganda for a variety of other reasons. They seem to move at the command of an elder relative or to join a brother or friend, to claim a promised bride, or to help put a new plot under cultivation for a kinsman. The picture of migrants in the villages is one of foreigners in close daily contact with the Ganda but supported and controlled on all the important occasions of life by a network of their own kinsmen and tribesmen spread widely over Buganda. They may even exist without any close attachments to Ganda neighbours at all.

On the basis of their length of contact with Buganda the immigrants can be divided under the following headings: (*a*) *Constant short-time visitors* who come at regular intervals, that is to say, every year or every second year over a long period of time. Contract workers, not described in this report, come for six months and it used to be stated that voluntary workers came for the same sort of period. The survey evidence would point to much longer visits to Buganda, at any rate in the case of men from Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika, and this view is supported by statements made by administrators in the Belgian territory. From the figures taken at Kabale camp the average time spent by 88 men who had completed one visit to Buganda was 14·0 months and by 56 men who had completed their second visit, 12·4 months. The Rundi travelling through Kyaka Ferry had made more frequent and shorter visits. The average time spent by 90 men on their first visit was 7·6 months and by 66 men on their second visit 9·8 months.

This group of immigrants might be described as the perpetual porter. It includes men from within Uganda and Tanganyika who do not want to live in Buganda but who cannot get the money they need for tax and consumption goods locally and who come to get it in Buganda: the target workers, in other words. It also includes immigrants from Belgian territory who want ultimately to settle in Buganda but who do not like to do so till their parents die. With these are individualists and "rolling stones" who cannot settle to regular house-keeping. There is some evidence that the herdsmen make more trips than others since they do not commonly cultivate anything but food crops. Nkole cattle herds interviewed in Kyadondo were reckoned to go to and fro in this way.

Examples of the short-term visitor are the following. A Rundi had made six "safaris"[1] spending three months in Kyagwe, six months in Mawokota, four months again in Kyagwe, five months in Bugerere, two in Busiro and three in Buddu. Another was on his eleventh visit from Nyanza to Mawokota and a third on his seventh visit from Ngozi to Bulemezi. The most constant visitor interviewed was an elderly Nkole who had made, according to his account, 27 separate trips to a village in Busiro where he spent annually three or four months working during the busy season. He was still quite clear that he did not want to settle in Buganda.

Some Rundi were making such expeditions at short intervals while others spent longer intervals at home as for instance a man who made his first expedition to Bulemezi in 1932 where he spent four months. He then remained at home until he started out again in 1949 and spent six months in Buddu. In 1951 he was again back working in Buddu. An Nkole had worked for four months in Buddu and had then stayed at home for four years. He then spent six months working at a coffee estate at Bugga and then spent a further two years at home. Next came eight months' work at Jinja and then a further year at home. He then returned to Busiro to the place of his original employment and had completed seven months before going home for a year to rest. When interviewed in 1951 he was again back in Busiro working in the same place.

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[1] Immigrants use this term, as do most Europeans, for any long trip from home by any form of transport.

(*b*) *Long-term visitors.* Other foreigners tend to make a long initial visit before returning home, probably to get a wife in order to settle permanently in Buganda. In the 1938 Labour Commission Report it was estimated that there were 86,000 immigrant males in the country of which about one-fifth had been over two years in the country but who meant ultimately to return home.[1] These men move from place to place definitely looking for plots on which to settle. Others spend a long period in the same place before settling. As an example, the case of a Ziba interviewed in Buddu may be cited. He had been sixteen years as a porter in Mawokota and had then moved to Kampala to work for his brother. He then took up a plot in Buddu near the place where he had worked for so long as a porter. Of the householders interviewed who had settled after doing porter work, 16 had taken up plots after one year, but 24 after periods of one to five years, 16 after five to ten years and 6 after ten years spent in Buganda. Others took up plots immediately on arrival, having heard of suitable land from relatives.

Under the same heading come traders from Kavirondo district or elsewhere who spend some years building up a small business but intend eventually to settle in their own country.

An attempt was made to estimate the average number of visits paid by the immigrants interviewed. 13 per cent. were on their first visit, 25 per cent. on their second, 20 per cent. on their third, 19 per cent. on their fourth and 11 per cent. on their fifth visit of those interviewed at Kyaka Ferry. Those going through Kabale camp were divided as follows:—34 per cent. were on their first visit, 33 per cent. on their second visit and 22 per cent. on their third. Figures were also taken of friends who accompanied the men interviewed. Of 262 of these, 97 were on their first visit, 71 on their second, 57 on their third, 20 on their fourth and 12 on their fifth; and of 190 men coming through Kyaka Ferry, 88 were making their first visit, 29 their second and 31 their third.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, para. 67.

In the village surveys taken in Busiro, out of 115 householders, 47·8 per cent. were on their first visit, 23·5 per cent. on their second and 13 per cent. on their third. In Kyagwe out of 42 householders 66·6 per cent. were on their first visit and 21·4 per cent. on their second. In Buddu out of 77 householders 62·3 per cent. were on their first visit, 13 per cent. on their second and 15·6 per cent. on their third.

(c) *Immigrants who never return home.* It is evident that some immigrants never return home, or at least remain many years in Buganda without a visit to their people. Of those who were interviewed in the sample villages 18 per cent. had been over ten years in Buganda without ever returning home. Among them were men and women who had come to the country as young children and had only hazy memories of their own tribal areas. Many of these immigrants wander from place to place before settling. For instance, a Rundi boy who came with his parents to Buganda spent seven years at school there, then three years working at an Indian store, two years in Kenya in the East African Rifles and then five years on the coast. He was now settled on a plot in Busiro. Out of 111 householders in the sample villages, 20, i.e. 17·8 per cent., had come with their parents as young children. Some of these had been back to visit their relatives but others had remained ever since in Buganda.

Other long-time settlers are immigrants from the Eastern Province who came to Kyagwe in 1917–19 as a result of a famine in their own country and have never been home. There are some apparently completely settled foreign communities, e.g. the Nubians near Bombo, said to be the descendants of Emin Pasha's soldiers left behind at the end of the nineteenth century. There are also the men mentioned above who have been wandering for years from job to job and the casual ne'er-do-wells. These are men who are unmarried and have no house or plot of their own although they may rent a piece of cotton land for one season. They seem to live with one relative after another, sometimes giving help in return for food and sometimes earning their own sustenance as jobbing labourers. They occasionally do a spell of work at a local plantation or factory, and it is interesting that in a society where all labour is in a sense casual, since it is intermittent, members of this type seem to be recognised as a special class. A welfare worker on the Lugazi sugar estate describes them as "completely casual" workers, while Africans in the local *lukiko* (Mutuba VII, Kyagwe) spoke of this type of wanderer as "*malaya*," the term usually used for prostitutes. They also used the phrase "*kutambula butambuzi*" meaning to walk about without a purpose—another term used by men of their daughters who refuse to get married and settle down. These vagrants were said to be mainly Ruanda but it was difficult to check this information. Two or three were interviewed near Lugazi. One would be probably reckoned as a high grade defective in England, but it would be difficult to say if all these vagrants were people of low mentality or whether they were merely men who wanted permanently to avoid the responsibility of family life either in Buganda or in their own country and who might be called the tramp or hobo type.

One cannot estimate at all exactly the average length of stay of these types of immigrant in Buganda but among the 71 labourers interviewed 8 had been in contact with Buganda for over 10 years, 10 between 5 and 10 years, 25 between 1 and 5 years and 28 under 1 year.

(*d*) *Second generation immigrants*. The number of adults reckoned as immigrants who have been born and brought up in this country is not as yet a large one. This is natural since the big movement into Uganda dates from the early twenties. In the Busiro villages only 0·9 per cent. of the households had been born in Buganda; in Kyagwe 4·7 per cent., and in Buddu none. Of the labourers questioned none had been born in Buganda. This is significant since it seems to confirm the impression of the investigators that a child born and brought up in this country is not going to work as a labourer but prefers to have land of his own.

It will be seen from this chapter that immigrants are taking full advantage not only of unused land in Buganda, but of a traditional land tenure system that gives them a very easy method of holding. While most become aware of these advantages after working in Buganda for some time, a few might be described as colonising immigrants and not as labourers at all.

It is perhaps difficult for those accustomed to the study of migration in Europe to understand the ease with which peasants here can make a settlement in new areas. It is not only that the Ruanda are arriving in Uganda at a time of rapid development, when unskilled labour is needed for all forms of enterprise, so that labourers can move from plantation to peasant cultivation or to Government employment or to industry as they please,[1] but also that, at the stage which agriculture has reached in Buganda, phenomenally little capital is needed to start as a cotton producer;

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[1] Ganda think that the plantations draw labour from their own cotton plots but it is also true that the recruiting done by the plantations brings foreigners into Uganda who afterwards settle in cotton cultivation.

in fact literally nothing except a hoe. The man who settles builds his hut out of grass in a few days; he gets banana slips and vegetable seeds from his neighbours; his cotton seed is also handed out from the cotton ginners. On virgin land he pays no entry money but if he needs a sum of Shs. 100 to Shs. 200 in order to get a ready cleared plot, he can make this sum by working for wages for a year or so.

In order to illustrate these points more clearly, a special type of migration, from the West Nile district will now be described.

CHAPTER VI

ALUR MIGRANTS

A. W. SOUTHALL

Labour migration is part of the general problem of increased individual mobility consequent on Colonial Administration. Formerly most tribal boundaries were exceedingly fluid, and frequently almost non-existent where tribes without centralised political systems shaded imperceptibly into one another. There was interpenetration along any border, and occasional large-scale upheavals of population due to slaving wars, but for the average individual there was no question of travel outside his tribal area.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Alurland was first in the Sudan Lado Enclave and then in the Congo Free State sphere of influence. Actual administration of what is now the Uganda section of it began with the arrival of Weatherhead as first District Commissioner in 1914, while the Congo section had in the main submitted to Belgian administration by 1912. Recruitment for the King's African Rifles was begun among the Uganda Alur by 1916, and these recruits were the first considerable group of Alur to have experience of the outside world, including Kampala and Buganda. I would suggest that this was a factor in the beginning of the Alur labour migration, which may be said to have started in 1919 or 1920.[1] Those who first went had either previously been themselves as K.A.R. recruits or had received news from the latter of conditions down country, and were emboldened to venture abroad. This also coincided with one of the two most serious famines of the century in Alurland.[2] There is no question but that this was a strong motive for temporary migration; in fact, especially in Jonam, considerable numbers of people had to be taken to Gulu and returned when the famine was over. At this early date the system of famine reserves of eleusine (now levied annually from every household and stored in granaries at each sub-chief's headquarters) had not been established. The migration was not as yet predominantly focussed upon Buganda. For Alur there was in fact a special interest and attraction in Bunyoro. They regarded the Bunyoro kings as related to their own chiefs, and from 1917 onwards for many years Amula, the premier Alur chief, was living at Masindi in exile. In any case Bunyoro was the nearest area of labour demand, and many went to work on European-owned estates there. From the first, Alur labour migrants were not satisfied with ordinary unskilled work, and some of them became plantation headmen. During the first two decades of the century Bunyoro offered optimistic prospects to European planters and was the scene of as energetic plantation activity as any area in Uganda. These bright prospects were not fulfilled. The boom following the first World War lasted until about 1921 and after that Bunyoro planting activity began a decline from which it never recovered. A study of these early estates would throw interesting light on the origins of West Nile labour migration. The habit had already caught firm hold of the Alur, and they began to travel further afield, where several major centres of labour demand arose during the next few years.

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[1] *Cf.* p. 24.

[2] The second was in 1943.

As has been stated, the Lugazi sugar plantation opened in 1924, from 1926 to 1928 there was a heavy demand for labour for the building of the Mbulamuti Railway, and in 1929 both the Kakira sugar plantation and the Masindi Port sisal estate began to absorb labour. These are the goals which are remembered as important by the older Alur. No doubt small numbers may also have been employed in the cotton ginneries and in the various industries around Kampala. They claim that their present practice of coming to Buganda to grow their own cotton as tenants of Ganda landlords began in 1931. Before this date they worked as casual labourers for Ganda landholders and also by the month, as well as on the various European or Indian owned estates which they found nearby. After 1931 they became increasingly concentrated upon this cotton production on Ganda land, and employment on the sugar and sisal estates became unusual for the Alur except for a few in superior positions. Monthly work on neighbouring non-native estates was still resorted to occasionally by Alur cotton growers in Buganda, say for six months after a bad cotton harvest, and they continued to do sporadic casual labour for nearby Ganda as a source of pocket money in addition to the main job of cotton growing. Their first appearance in the labour market, therefore, coincided with the post-war boom on the Bunyoro plantations, while the emergence of their present characteristic role as independent tenant cotton growers in Buganda a little preceded the beginning of the peak period in Uganda cotton production from 1933–41.

Until about 1930 it was usually necessary to accomplish the whole journey onwards from Butiaba towards Kampala on foot, having previously walked to Pakwach to catch the Nile steamer to

Butiaba. It was natural that in such conditions Alur had gone mainly to the nearest places of work in Bunyoro, or else to the large centres of employment noted above, for which better travelling facilities were provided. As soon as some Alur had established themselves in Buganda it became easier for any others who could trace significant kinship with them to go also, since the availability of temporary hospitality until their own menage was set up would counterbalance the disadvantages of the journey on foot.

SOME ALUR CHARACTERISTICS.

The Alur are of all Uganda peoples the most heterogeneous in known ethnic composition. The Alur proper were an invading group of Nilotic Lwo aristocrats, who created a political system into which a number of other peoples were increasingly absorbed as subjects, although they made their own cultural contribution to the whole. Other aristocratic groups also assimilated themselves to the conquering Alur by the adoption of Alur speech and of their system of domination over neighbouring peoples. In the groups from which the majority of labour migrants to Buganda are drawn, the important non-Lwo groups which have been to a varying extent absorbed into Alur society are the Lendu, Okebo, Madi and Bantu.[1] The Alur consider themselves a superior race with a destiny to rule others, and feel that they have simply been beaten at their own game by Europeans. It is important to note that the Alur political system was a continuous process, and that the greater the degree of assimilation of the subject groups, the more the latter were able themselves to adopt the Alur attitude of superiority towards those as yet unassimilated (*cf.* below, p. 156). Alur settlers are treated in the same way by the Ganda whatever their ethnic origin, and all are known as "Balulu"[2] whether they are in fact Lendu or Alur proper. In the case of the sample village of Mabanga in Busiro, the "Balulu" turned out to be not Alur proper at all but partially "alurised" Lendu. Nevertheless, their behaviour did not appear to differ by virtue of their being low status Alur from that of other Alur settlers with a higher status. The social context of settler groups is such as to produce a common attitude towards the Ganda themselves and towards settler groups of other tribes, and this overshadows intra-tribal status feelings.

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[1] The aboriginal Bantu groups of the Albert Nile valley and the Lake Albert shore.

[2] It is said that "Balulu" is sometimes used even of Lugbara immigrants but this was not the case in the Alur area of Busiro which was studied. This is presumably because they also come from the West Nile area which was first represented in rural Buganda by the Alur. The numbers of Lugbara growing cotton in Buganda are negligible.

The Alur have made a consistent impression on nearly all administrators, traders, missionaries and others who have come in contact with them, whether in Uganda or in the Belgian Congo. One District Officer described them as "tough, stubborn, impossible to drive, and tact is needed to get progress." Wherever they are employed they get the reputation of being intelligent and lazy, better in positions of authority than at manual work. Their independent spirit and ability to decide what they want and get it is illustrated by the contrast between them and their neighbours the Lugbara in West Nile District. The latter are recruited in thousands every year for work on the sugar and sisal estates, being transported by lorry and boat at their employers' expense. But there are years when not one single Alur has been recruited for this purpose, yet all men of the Alur highlands make their own way to Buganda for cotton growing at some time in their lives (apart from the mentally deficient on one side and the better educated on the other, for whom the same incentives do not operate).

There may be a similar significance in the correlation of these Alur qualities with their high rate of membership in the Uganda Police. It is well known that the Acoli are numerous in the police force and that it is popular with them. It is not so well known that the Jonam have the highest rate of membership in it of any Uganda tribe in relation to their size. The combined figure for Jonam and Alur taken together is also higher than that for any other tribe, including the Acoli.

At home the Alur are organised in a number of chiefdoms, each consisting of many localised clans or clan sections having some internal segmentary structure. The Alur in Buganda, despite the constantly changing membership of the group, and its dispersion among the rest of the population, remain strongly organised on kinship principles, always living in small groups every member of which has some kind of kinship tie with the rest.

THE INFLUENCE OF HOME ENVIRONMENT.

The three counties of Okoro, Padyere and Jonam, into which the Uganda Alur were formerly divided (Okoro and Padyere are now amalgamated), roughly corresponded to three distinct geographical regions: respectively the cool highlands with their extremely fertile valleys, good cattle pasture and adequate rainfall; the hotter, less fertile midlands with lower rainfall, sandy soil and no cattle; and the very hot Nile plain with its poor rainfall, very sandy soil and abundant fish. These oecological factors have an important influence on the pattern of the migration.

1. *Okoro.—The Highlands.* (*Sub-chiefdoms: Atyak, Zeu, Kaŋo, Nyapea, Paidha.*)

Okoro lies at an altitude of 4,500 to 5,500 feet, with the exception of a few hilltops. It is almost entirely deforested and makes excellent cattle country, but cotton will not grow. Cattle are not readily saleable because of their value for non-economic transactions. Much maize is grown, but no system of marketing it commercially has been introduced and it is mainly consumed as beer. Tobacco is grown for home consumption but has never been encouraged commercially although it grows extremely well. Coffee would also grow well, and was introduced over ten years ago, but owing to the methods used to get the Alur to grow it the scheme was a total failure. It is now being re-introduced with a good chance of success. Okoro has thus never had a practicable source of cash income, and labour migration was the easiest method of obtaining essential cash for taxes, clothes and other increasingly realised economic wants. Okoro is the most thickly populated of the three zones, having a population of 41,838 at the 1948 census, in an area of approximately 364 square miles, giving 112 persons per square mile. It is in Okoro that labour migration is part of the life experience of every adult male, and of very many women and children. In about three-quarters of these cases it takes the form of cotton growing in Buganda.

2. *Padyere.—The Midlands.* (*Sub-chiefdoms: Erusi, Nebi, Aŋal, Parombo.*)

With the exception of Erusi, which is atypical of the whole in belonging œcologically and politically to the highland region, the midlands have an elevation of 3,000 to 4,500 feet. Cattle do not flourish and are not kept there, though goats and some sheep are. The soil is not suitable for good maize production. Simsim used to be an important crop, but planting has decreased in face of ever falling yields—a sure sign of soil deterioration. Cassava is assuming ever greater importance as the staple diet. Cotton grows well everywhere except in the higher parts of Erusi, and planting and harvests rose rapidly from 1932 to 1935 since when cotton has remained the dominant crop. Padyere has a population of 26,251 (1948) with an area of approximately 383 square miles, giving a density of 71 per square mile.

3. *Jonam.—The Lowlands.* (*Sub-chiefdoms: Mutir, Panyango, Pakwach, Panyimur, Alwi.*

Jonam has an altitude varying from 2,000 to 3,000 feet. But with the exception of Alwi, which lies inland at about 3,000 feet, nearly all the inhabitants live within three miles of the Nile at below 2,500 feet. The population totals 19,435, and the area approximately 302 square miles, giving a density of 64 per square mile. But this is misleading, for while the Nile bank is fairly closely settled the hinterland is mainly uninhabited. The average rainfall is under 40 inches, the soil is suitable for cotton but the uncertainty of adequate rainfall and the serious depredations of game are a discouragement. Fish are plentiful in the Nile, but it is only in Pakwach and Panyimur that fishing provides a really important cash income, mainly through the sale of dried fish to Belgian contractors. The pace of change in Jonam has in many ways been slower than in any other part of Alurland. This may be partly due to the prevalence of debilitating diseases and partly to its troubled history.

Recent medical sample surveys showed a remarkable state of parasitic infection and other diseases in Jonam.[1] In Mutir 25 per cent. had hookworm and most children were suffering from anaemia, enlarged spleens, trachoma and conjunctivitis. At Panyango hookworm affected 35 per cent. and schistosomiasis 22 per cent. In Paroketo now included in Pakwach 35·6 per cent. had schistosomiasis, 70 per cent. anaemia and over 70 per cent. trachoma and conjunctivitis. In Panyimur schistosomiasis showed an infestation rate of 89·8 per cent. Guinea worm is also very common in Jonam. None of these diseases have a high incidence in Okoro, and in Padyere also they are far less serious than in Jonam.

Furthermore, Jonam has had a troubled political history, compared with the rest of Alurland, for nearly three-quarters of a century. It suffered the immediate impact of the soldiery of Emin Pasha and his successors at Wadelai in Mutir, involving continual forced deliveries of livestock and much actual raiding. Succession disputes with candidates backed by British and Belgian forces increased the economic burden on the country. Further hardship was caused at this time by the necessary evacuation of all the population from the sleeping sickness infected east bank of the Nile, with a consequent loss of half the cultivated area of Jonam which was not adequately compensated by increased cultivation on the west bank. Previously the two banks had provided an easy means of land resting whereby whole groups periodically transferred both their huts and their gardens from one bank to the other, so remaining always within easy reach of the river for fishing. No system has since been devised to work equally well on one bank permanently, combining proximity for the exploitation of fishing resources with protection of gardens from the attacks of game.

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[1] The figures following were supplied by the District Medical Officer, Arua.

Assassination and ritual murders followed in the train of succession disputes. Such a long story of violence, intrigue and brutality has no parallel in the recent history of Alurland and must have had an unfavourable effect upon the general development of Jonam.

During the year 1951, the numbers of men who received passes for passage from West Nile to South Uganda, expressed as a percentage of males between the ages of sixteen and forty-five[1] in each subcounty, were as follows: *Okoro:* Nyapea 14·97 per cent., Atyak 21·51 per cent., Paidha 13·23 per cent., Zeu 12·21 per cent. and Kaŋo 12·87 per cent.; *Padyere:* Erusi 1·43 per cent., Aŋal 3·18 per cent. and Parombo 1·43 per cent.; figures are not available for individual subcounties in Jonam but the figure for that county as a whole was 6·17 per cent. as against the overall figures of 14·70 per cent. for Okoro and 1·95 per cent. for Padyere.

There is thus a striking double contrast moving down from the very high rate in the Okoro highlands, to the very low rate in the Padyere midlands, and back to a rather high rate in the Jonam lowlands. There is a parallel contrast between the lack of effective cash earning in the highlands, the high cash earnings from cotton in the midlands and the much lower average cash earnings in the lowlands despite the possibility of both fishery and cotton production there.

COTTON PRODUCTION IN PADYERE AND JONAM

	1935/36	1936/37	1937/38		1948	
Padyere ..	1,250,739	1,409,896	2,581,975	lbs. of first grade	8,013	estimated acreage
Jonam ..	345,224	253,882	454,888		4,561	

Variations between sub-chiefdoms within the three zones do not show such striking correlations. In Padyere it is Parombo which has caused the greatest concern as an area of excessive cotton planting with the neglect of subsistence crops and soil exhaustion with resultant erosion. Yet in the first six months of 1951 emigrants from Parombo were not fewer than those from elsewhere in Padyere. It is surprising that Erusi should show such a low rate of emigration, for only part of it is suitable for cotton growing and the rest is œcologically part of the highlands. Erusi differs from the rest of the highlands chiefly in having its traditional political orientation towards the Alur chiefdom of War in the Belgian Congo and not towards Okoro.

THE NUMBERS INVOLVED.

We need to know the exact number of Alur working as tenant cotton growers in Buganda, the average number of visits paid to

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[1] As given in the Census of 1948.

Buganda by Alur during their working lives, the average duration of these visits and their distribution in the lifetime of the individual. We need to know further the trend of migration, the numerical relation of emigrants to immigrants, the number of Alur away from home in other types of work, the sub-chiefdom of origin of Alur migrants so that their numbers can be correlated with oecological and sociological variables in Alurland, and the proportion of men, women and children away from home in different parts of Alurland and its social consequences. Statistics are not available to illustrate most of these points. The statistics which have been obtained present many difficulties and doubts. Sometimes their basis is dubious, often they are not given in a comparable form from year to year, and the statistics gathered from my own field work usually refer to rather small samples and are sometimes incomplete because the labour migration was not the sole object of study. The figures given below do not therefore justify extensive statistical treatment, but having stated all these provisos, I consider that the general inferences which I have drawn from them help to build up a qualitative picture which is unlikely to be far from the truth and is certainly not misleading. (*cf.* Tables A and B, p. 160.)

The Uganda Census of 1948 records 8,762 Alur resident in Buganda, concentrated within a continuous area comprising the southern parts of Bulemezi and Singo and one adjacent *gombolola* of Busiro. As the census does not record Alur separately where there are fewer than 100 in the same *gombolola*, it may be that about 10,000 Alur were resident in rural Buganda at that time. Unfortunately the census does not record the Alur population of Bunyoro, known to be considerable, at all, owing to the fact that the Bunyoro census was lost.

The following figures were obtained from the District Labour Office, Arua (years 1947, 1948 and 1949) and from the Labour Department of Uganda, Annual Report (1946).

	1946	1947	1948	1949
Uganda Alur crossing to Butiaba (emigrants) ..	2,069	2,167	2,738	2,693
Congo ,, ,, ,, ,, ..	1,204	1,287	781	?
TOTAL ..	3,273	3,454	3,519	?
Uganda Alur crossing to Pakwach (immigrants)	3,026	3,340	2,120	
Congo ,, ,, ,, ,,	886	895	783	
TOTAL ..	3,912	4,235	2,903	

Of 20 completed visits to Buganda recorded among the Alur at Mabanga village in *gombolola* Mutuba III, Busiro, the average length of a visit was 3·5 years. The average length of 14 visits to Buganda recorded from Alur informants in Palei, Nyapea, West Nile, was 2·4 years. These figures are roughly consistent with those of the Census and of the Labour Department given above. It is to be expected that the figure for Mabanga would be higher than that for Palei, since there is a greater likelihood of very long-term migrants being found in Buganda than in Alurland. Even if the average length of stay is taken as only two years, this implies in conjunction with the figures given above an absence of from over a quarter to nearly a half of the able-bodied men in the highlands of Okoro.

In the Okoro sub-chiefdom of Zeu, 530 of 2,242 taxable males in the 1950 tax register were recorded as having crossed to southern Uganda, a little less than a quarter.[1]

In the half dozen nearest villages to my camp in Palei, Okoro, 42 out of 83 men were away in Buganda in 1949. Of the 41 men still at home 14 were old men definitely over 50 and one of the others was deaf and dumb. To put it another way, 32 out of the 46 young men of the group aged between 16 and 40 were away. All of those away were definitely growing cotton in Buganda except for two who were in the army. Six other men of the group were also away, but I have excluded them from all the above figures as they were still resident within the District, four working in Arua, one a tribal askari at Paidha, Okoro, and one growing cotton at Nebi, Padyere. This is a very high rate of male absenteeism. The area is in every ascertainable way representative. Furthermore, it is supported by the figures for Nyapea sub-chiefdom, of which Palei is a part, computed on the same basis as those already given above for Zeu. In Nyapea the 1948 census gave a total population of 8,530, of which 1,767 were males over 16; the 1951 tax register gives 551 men as having crossed to Southern Uganda from Nyapea, an even higher proportion than in Zeu.

THE INCENTIVES FOR MIGRATION.

The lack of effective cash earning opportunities at home has already been dealt with from several angles as a general incentive to migration. Once the habit was formed there were many subsidiary factors to reinforce it. It is closely linked to the manner in which the earning of cash is conceived, namely, as an essentially sporadic activity, directed to immediately pressing needs, and to be abandoned as soon as such needs are satisfied. Uganda has witnessed the passing of a number of communities beyond this phase to the stage at which a regular source of cash is desired; the Alur have not done so. Marriage is the most universal need, because it involves an amount of property nearly always beyond the individual's current resources, and because Alur are only able to beg or borrow extra cattle from within a very narrow kinship group. Next to marriage, and tax, come clothes, which, being required in smaller units of value, can more often be acquired by less drastic means than migration.

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[1] The total number of tax-paying males may actually be higher as tax evaders are not recorded, but there are also men who have been away for so many years that their names are removed from the register.

The second important conditioning factor is the totally different spending as well as earning situation at home and abroad. One of the prime inducements for going to Buganda is certainly the fact that there money can be accumulated for some longer term purpose without the immediate compulsions to spend it which operate at home. As one migrant put it. "It is cotton that brought us here. But for cotton we would not come. If we grew cotton in our own country the girls would deceive us into spending all the money we made in buying beer for them, so that we would never be able to save any to buy cattle and get married. Women at home are difficult; it takes up to twelve cattle to get married." What this informant said of the girls applies rather more widely. Although the Buganda Alur are to a considerable extent organised on a kinship basis, the field of kinship is there very restricted and many kinship obligations are tacitly curtailed. While the general obligation to help kin is observed, the very fact that all are there to make money creates an atmosphere in which heavy demands on property are not made between kin. All have, in fact, left Alurland partly in order to escape from those kinship obligations which tend to disperse wealth as soon as accumulated. These factors far outweigh the higher cost of living to which they are subject in Buganda. The escape from the closed tribal system has far-reaching implications. To a large extent Buganda offers freedom from the traditional restrictions imposed at home by elders in the kinship system and by chiefs in the political system. By contrast with their own authority system, that of Buganda has only partial legitimacy for them, precisely because it is not theirs, and they have only a temporary stake in it. Life in Buganda, as has already been noted, offers opportunities of leadership to Alur whose low age and rank would disqualify them at home. These are elements, not all very consciously formulated, in the general desire "to see the world" which also motivates migrants. This is exemplified clearly by the tremendous swagger of bearing adopted by returned migrant youths in front of the girls at home. Furthermore, cotton growing in Buganda, while being manual labour, is consistent with the

Alur independent spirit and dislike of regimentation in subordinate positions in a way which paid labour for non-Africans is not.

Another interesting point was made by a reliable informant with long experience of Buganda. According to him, money-making in Buganda is easy not only because of the established cotton industry but because the actual working of the soil is so much easier than in Okoro. In Buganda the soil is light and workable, he said, whereas the admittedly excellent soil of Okoro is full of the terrible couch grass whose roots have to be laboriously dug out before planting. An area like Buganda in which plantain gardens are able with a little occasional attention to supply the food staple year after year has a great advantage over any cereal-growing area from this point of view. Cassava, though fairly easy to grow, and long-lasting, requires far more cultivation and the preparation of it for eating is much more laborious.

The women who go to Buganda also prefer it. They almost certainly have less agricultural work to do there, and they always get better clothes, for a husband respects a woman's sensitiveness about appearing half naked among the well-covered Ganda.

The full motivational picture is therefore complex. Not all the original incentives operate, while some of them have become stronger. Particularly important is the fact that the habit once formed has acquired a kind of prestige, at least for the young, and that many subsidiary reinforcing elements have clustered round it while other factors have unobtrusively developed in consistency with it, so that the attempt to restrict it would probably encounter resistances unrealised by the participants and unexpected to the Government. This does not mean that measures unfavourable to them in Buganda would not result in a temporary stream of migrants back home, or that changes which destroyed its benefits to them would not cut down their numbers. This was shown by the devaluation of sterling, when the numbers of Alur coming from the Belgian Congo to Uganda fell from 1,204 in 1946 and 1,287 in 1947 to 781 in 1948 (Arua Labour Office figures). But it does mean that mere attempts at persuading Alur to stay at home and develop their own country would probably be a failure, and Alurland does offer considerable possibilities of hitherto unattempted economic development for which its present highly mobile and absentee male population could provide no basis.

Life in Buganda.

Once the migrants reach their destination in Buganda there are invariably relatives and friends with whom they can both lodge and feed freely until able to support themselves independently or contribute their share to a common menage. Here it is usual to do casual piece work for Ganda to help in buying food by the well-recognised practice already described (*okusaka busasi* in Luganda and *sako cam* in Alur). In Mabanga, Busiro, the rate was two cassava plants for the cultivation of an area of 6 by 2 spear hafts, or about 12 yards by 4. Most continue to do *lejjalejja* piece work for pocket money even when they have established their own food supply; the money so raised is not saved, but regarded as currently available for buying beer and cigarettes. Tobacco does not seem to be grown by them in Buganda, nor is Alur beer brewed, and the Ganda beer is a great deal more intoxicating than Alur beer. The fact that the Alur continue their old drinking habits with the stronger beverage of the Ganda no doubt does lead to the drunkenness and violence of which their hosts complain[1] (*cf.* p. 165).

Naturally, it is those who come only for one cotton season, or are uncertain how long they will stay, who obtain their food entirely by feeding with relatives and friends or doing casual labour for food. Those who intend to stay for more than one season usually plant beans and eleusine in their cotton plot as soon as the old cotton is burnt and the rains come. The harvesting of this eleusine is a factor making for late cotton planting since it is not finished till June. Cassava is planted by those who expect to stay long enough for it to mature. It has displaced eleusine as the basic foodstuff of the Alur, with unfortunate nutritional consequences. Long term settlers also plant sweet potatoes and simsim, while plantain growing depends on the holding of a *kibanja* which again is only worth while for long term settlers.

Of the 30 Alur men in Mabanga, Busiro, 18 were living without wives, but of these 6 were living in kinship groups including women who probably cooked for them all together. Of the remaining 12 men 6 were living in pairs, 2 had their own huts and 4 were sharing a single hut. Those men sharing huts regarded it as a temporary expedient. Though it would be unthinkable at home, Alur men are prepared to cook for themselves when away. They commonly do this also in their Bunyoro fishing camps.

Men endeavour to get the main work of cultivation over early in the day, starting at 7 a.m. and continuing till about 10 a.m. After that they return to sit about and chat, and to search for the nearest household where beer is available that day. But cotton picking and other light field tasks may be done at any time of day, often in the afternoon. Those with well established households, always the older long term settlers, continue the Alur practice of getting cultivation done for beer by calling their neighbours to work and afterwards to drink. Visits are paid to relatives also growing cotton not too far away, and to the local shops, and occasionally to Kampala.

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[1] Ganda beer is drunk cold and neat, whereas Alur beer is always diluted with several parts of hot water.

(*a*) *Tenure of Land.*

Alur mainly cultivate on rented plots (*kupangisa*) and pay entry money as described, but some become customary tenants and in this case seemed to be paying more than the legal *envujo* after a good cotton harvest, that is to say payments of from 8/- to 20/- above the legal maximum. This the Alur call "*mboza*" (Luganda: "*mpoza*"). As has been explained, a landlord can make more money by letting land in seasonal tenancy to foreigners than by allotting holdings to Ganda in customary tenure. This is because a given area of land divides into a larger number of the former than of the latter and because cotton production per area, and the payments consequent upon it, are likely to be higher from industrious foreigners wanting to make money quickly before going home than from permanent Ganda *bakopi* who would rather depend on their wives or employees for the hard work of cultivation. The insecure seasonal tenure suits landlords and short term tenants alike, but Ganda, without territorial security elsewhere to fall back upon, cannot compete in it. Theoretically, *bibanja* holders can rent additional land for the season as many foreigners do, but this would be quite at variance with Ganda economic and social objectives, which are to achieve landowning status combined with a certain income, and to achieve the latter without demeaning themselves by additional manual labour. Apart from this important proviso, Alur customary tenants are situated similarly to Ganda.

(*b*) *Social Organisation in Buganda.*

I give here a concrete account of a small group of Alur settlers surveyed in February, 1951, in the sample village of Mabanga in *Gombolola* Mutuba III, Busiro. This village contained in all 50 taxpayers of whom 40 were *kibanja* holders. The Alur group consisted of 30 men, not all of whom had yet become taxpayers and only 6 of whom were *kibanja* holders. The residential pattern of these Alur resembled that of the Alur at home, varying from small village concentrations of half-a-dozen huts to households standing alone. They were most of them living in small homestead clusters of 3 to 5 huts each, all their huts being constructed of thin grass on a framework of sticks except 2 which were of mud and wattle. Seven out of the 30 men were not paying tax and were probably under 20 years old. One definitely got the impression among these immigrants that some of the non-taxpaying youths were of an age at which they would certainly have been already paying tax had they been in their tribal area. Of 21 men interviewed 9 had not been married, the other 12 had contracted 18 unions of which 5 had broken up through elopment and 3 by the death of the spouses, while of the 10 extant unions 4 of the spouses were in West Nile and 6 with their husbands in Mabanga, and of these latter 3 were the wives of a single polygynist and the others were in monogynous unions. No intertribal unions were recorded. The age distribution of the men was: 15–20 years, 9; 20–40 years, 9; 40–50 years, 2. Over 50, 1. For the 7 married men 24 births were recorded of which 18 children were surviving, 16 of whom were in Mabanga. The age and sex distribution of the latter was:

	1–5	5–10	10–15	15–20	20–30
Male	3			2[1]	2[1]
Female	4	2		2	1

The 9 men not interviewed all belonged to the category which had only been in Mabanga a year or less. The distribution of the whole group by length of residence was as follows: date of arrival in Mabanga, 1950: 17; 1949: 5; 1948: 3; 1947: 3; 1946: 1; 1945:1. The distribution by date of first visit to Buganda for work was, for the 21 men for whom the data were obtained: 1950: 2; 1949: 2; 1943: 0; 1947:1; 1946: 5; 1940–45: 6; 1930–40: 2; 1920–30:3. The other 9 men not included in these latter figures were almost certainly recent first comers.

All members of the group came from one sub-chiefdom, Zeu, Okoro, except for one from the immediately adjacent area of the Belgian Congo. Zeu happens to be the sub-chiefdom of Okoro in which many of the population are of Lendu origin, absorbed into Alur society, and it is to this group that all the Alur of Mabanga belonged. These "alurised" Lendu live in localised sub-clans with populations of only about 150 in each. The sub-clan distribution of the 30 men and of 13 spouses for whom data were obtained was:

Sub-clan	Men	Women
Lendu Asisi	20	1
" Abesi	7	4
" Ambusi ..	2	0
" Amisi	1	0
" Ajusi	0	1
" Aresi	0	1

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[1] Included in the group of 21 men.

Sub-clan	Men	Women
Lendu Arusi	0	1
„ Adusi	0	2
„ Nyarka	0	1
Alur Awora	0	1
„ chief's clan	0	1

The division into residential homestead clusters cuts across the division by sub-clans, on a basis of cognatic or affinal kinship in some cases and of friendship in others.

Homestead Cluster 1. 4 huts.
Men: Asisi 4, Abesi 2, Amisi 1, Ambusi 1,
Spouses: Ajusi 1, Aresi 1.

Homestead Cluster 2. 3 huts.
Men: Asisi 4, Abesi 1, Ambusi 1,
Spouses: „ 1, Arusi 1, Adusi 1.

Homestead Cluster 3. 3 huts.
Men: Asisi 3, Abesi 2.
Spouses:

Homestead Cluster 4. 4 huts.
Men: Asisi 1, Abesi 2,
Spouses: „ 2, Nyarka 1, Awora 1.

Homestead Cluster 5. 5 huts.
Men: Asisi 6, Abesi 1,
Spouses: „ 1, Adusi 1, Alur chief's clan 1.

Homestead Cluster 6. 2 huts.
1 male Abesi and nubile daughter.

The whole group is closely knit by intersecting kinship and local ties.[1] This appears to be characteristic of the Alur in general as settlers in Buganda. Each group of this kind appoints a leader from among its own members, who is recognised as their representative by the Ganda *mutongole* and so forms the lowest level of all in the political hierarchy as one of the unpaid members of the administrative staff of the *muruka* chief. The Alur settlers demand that they should be administratively dealt with only through him, and he holds a sort of informal court of first instance before they appear in any case before the *muruka* chief. Both hereditary status and age, so important in the traditional Alur society, count for very little in the selection of these leaders, who tend to be young men in their thirties, elected for personal ability. The linguistic factor is certainly of importance here. All other numerous groups of settlers are Bantu speakers, and this has been noted as one of the factors which makes for easier relations with the Ganda.

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[1] The kinship relations of the Asisi sub-clan majority group are shown in the diagram.

The nilotic-speaking Alur, with the subsidiary Sudanic tongues of their subject peoples, seem very foreign to the Ganda, and though they always pick up Luganda their accent marks them out. The Ganda must therefore feel the need for intermediaries between them and the Alur settler groups, and this fits in with the Alur predisposition for organising themselves politically.

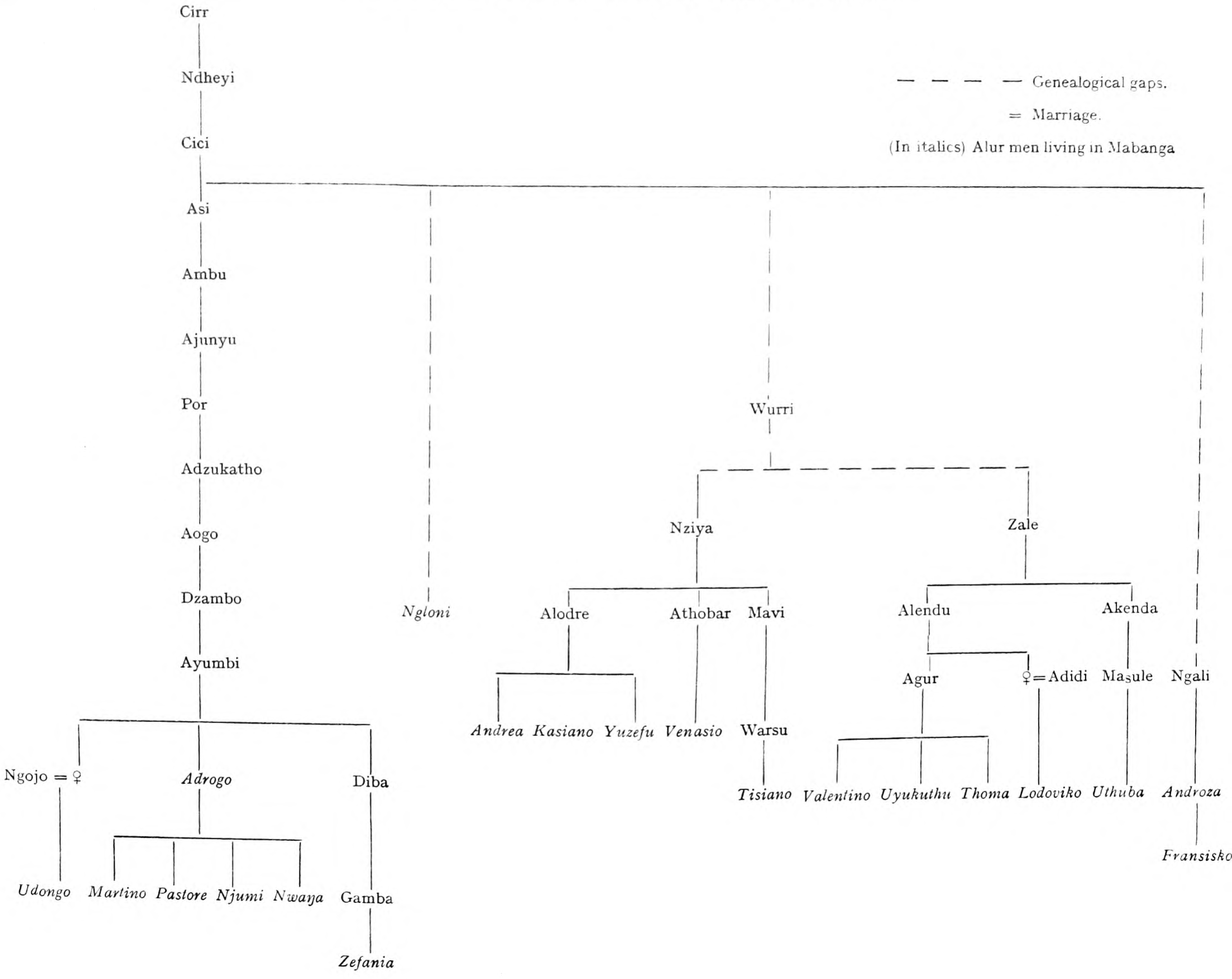
This goes to even greater lengths in the areas of greatest Alur concentration, round about Busunju on the Kampala—Hoima road. In *gombolola* Sabagabo of Bulemezi, with an Alur population of 3,426 (1948 census), the Alur have appointed one of their number as "Wakil" (the West Nile equivalent of *gombolola* chief), and it is said that he holds court for them and takes the decisions to the *gombolola* chief direct. I was not able to verify this personally, and it may be an exaggeration, but it at least serves well to show Alur settlers' aspirations. The talk among them recently was that a second Alur settlers' Wakil was going to be appointed, and even a Sultan of the Buganda Alur (West Nile equivalent of *saza* chief). Some of those Alur who have settled longest in Buganda jokingly say that the Alur of West Nile are now the mere rump of Alur society and the real Alur are now in Buganda.

(c) *Settler Attitudes.*

The Alur complain that the Ganda hate them, but on further questioning specify that it is the Ganda peasantry (*bakopi*) who hate them, not the landlords, who in fact profit by them. They themselves volunteer the information that "Buganda is spoilt" since they began to grow cotton independently instead of working as employees of the Ganda. Formerly they gave added prestige to Ganda peasants as their servants, but now they compete with them on equal terms, using the land without accepting any responsibility for it. The Ganda regard them as barbarous, thieves, prone to drink too much and to fight, the worst behaved of the immigrant tribes, the strongest workers, those who stay the shortest time, running here and there, and disappearing without burning their old cotton trees. (Landlords are responsible for the burning of all old cotton plants on their land.) Alur say that their girls refuse to marry Ganda men (citing the language difficulty), though Alur men may marry Ganda girls. I was unable to verify this in practice, and it is simply a statement of the traditional Alur principle of restricted intermarriage with tribes considered inferior. The adoption of this attitude by the alurised Lendu of Mabanga was highly ironic, for it is precisely the Lendu who were discriminated against in this way by the Alur proper. But the guardianship of the sexual attributes of their womenfolk is so lax by the Ganda

THE KINSHIP CORE OF MABANGA

A group of 17 men, all members of Asisi sub-clan, with two other men linked to the same agnatic ancestry through their mothers.


— — — — Genealogical gaps.
= Marriage.
(In italics) Alur men living in Mabanga
Cirr
Ndheyi
Cici
Asi
Ambu
Ajunyu
Por
Adzukatho
Aogo
Dzambo
Ayumbi
Ngojo = ♀
Adrogo
Diba
Udongo
Martino
Pastore
Njumi
Nwaŋa
Gamba
Zefania
Ngloni
Wurri
Nziya
Zale
Alodre
Athobar
Mavi
Andrea
Kasiano
Yuzefu
Venasio
Warsu
Tisiano
Alendu
Akenda
Agur
♀ = Adidi
Masule
Ngali
Valentino
Uyukuthu
Thoma
Lodoviko
Uthuba
Androza
Fransisko

and so strict by the Alur that sex relations between Alur men and Ganda women are certain to occur. I once heard this very point made in conversation to a Ganda man by an Alur, that casual sexual satisfaction was so easy to obtain in Buganda and so difficult in Alurland.

Both sides therefore seem to be in agreement as to what their mutual attitudes are. The Alur are under no illusions as to their position. Different settlers said that it was only cotton that brought them there; but for Europeans ruling the country they would never leave home; that they want to get on well with everyone, as they are only birds of passage, but the Ganda dislike them and want them to go home because they are foreigners multiplying in the land; however, they get on well with their own landlords and want to stay; that tribal relations are now the Government's business and they do not think about them, but if the Baganda make trouble with them they will just go home.

EFFECT OF THE MIGRATION ON ALUR SOCIETY.

Various Government reports reflect anxiety as to the effects of this tribal migration on social conditions in the Alur country. District Commissioners of the West Nile District have usually regarded the movement with disfavour, though one remarked, in relation to the failure of coffee in Okoro, that if Alur preferred to raise their tax money by going to Buganda instead of by growing coffee at home it was, within limits, their own affair. Chiefs have been definitely and increasingly hostile to it.

The evil results in terms of the disruption of family life are greatly lessened by the surprisingly large number of women who now accompany their husbands to Buganda. As table B shows, in 1951 there were 901 men and 193 women emigrating from Okoro, so that one in every four or five husbands may have had his wife with him. The very long term settlers usually have their families with them, and the women left at home are therefore mainly those whose husbands stay away a shorter time. The migration of women on this scale is almost certainly a recent phenomenon but there are no statistics to prove this. Cases which amount to desertion on the part of the husband, or in which the lonely wife elopes, certainly occur, but they do not form a sufficiently high proportion of all cases of marriage breakdown for the migration to be held an important cause of this. Wives thus left sometimes stay with their husband's people, where they may be very friendly with young wives of their husbands' brothers or with their husbands' sisters. Others go home to their mothers. Childless wives naturally seem in the greatest danger when left, but young wives whose husbands leave them soon after the birth of a baby often seem completely happy.

The most serious result of the migration on sex and family life is the increase in the surplus of marriageable girls at home. This disproportion is notorious in Okoro, and it has been noted by the chiefs. It occurs at a time when the livestock paid at marriage is beginning to acquire generalised economic value, or actually to be superseded by cash. This means that young men are rarely in a position to pay a bridewealth which will satisfy the demands of a girl's guardian. This further accentuates the inability of nubile girls to find mates. The result is almost certainly that girls are easily persuaded to elope and that many youths elope with girls before they have adequate property for a marriage contract. There is a paradox here. Alur have, and always had, a form of marriage by contract in which the prior agreement of the two families concerned in the match has to be obtained, and a form of marriage by elopement in which the contract is only made after the pair have begun to cohabit. Alur say that the latter method is for those who have ready wealth available, since the family of an eloped girl will demand immediate satisfaction, whereas in marriage by contract the transfer of wealth may be gradual. They also say that marriage by elopement is not a cheaper form but may cost more because the bridegroom suffers more visits from his in-laws and has to slaughter more animals for them than in marriage by contract. Yet the social situation at present inevitably favours marriage by elopement.

The absence of so many men obviously has an effect on agriculture. A woman left with her children and no husband necessarily suffers some hardship. She must usually cope alone with fields of cassava and eleusine, sometimes mixed, sweet potatoes, and maize and beans. Some kinsman of her husband organises a party of men for the initial cultivation of fields, and she brews beer for them just as she would if her husband were there. If she is able to brew plenty of beer she can organise parties of women for weeding and harvesting, but this is not so common. The wife will miss her husband for the initial clearing and burning of undergrowth, the finishing off of all the heavier cultivation which hoeing parties may not complete, for the hoeing of a sweet potato field, for the drainage and maintenance of a valley maize-bean field, and for much occasional assistance. A man always does a great deal of extra hoeing himself besides what he gets done by communal parties. If he is away, his wife's total crop area is bound to be reduced to some extent in both quantity and quality, by more than the equivalent of one mouth less to feed. Now that new agricultural rules are being introduced for contouring, strip cropping, weed bunding, etc., the wife with husband away will be at a worse disadvantage, or, rather, it is in her fields that such rules will not be observed, for all these new tasks fall mainly within the man's province, and only men are subjected to the propaganda in their favour. The net result is that a lone wife's family will tend to be worse nourished, the family cultivation will be less and there will be no improvement in techniques. The latter is such a slow affair at best that the difference cannot be considered great, and a slight reduction in the amount of cultivation in a fertile, thickly settled country is a long term advantage rather than otherwise. There is at present no acute land scarcity in Okoro, and the migration is in no sense a reaction to it, but if the area of cultivation were increased by the presence of all those now in Buganda, a scarcity would certainly arise, at least to the extent of over cultivation and soil exhaustion.

In general all potential development must suffer from the absence of large numbers of men. Indeed the absence of men is in fact a reflection of the lack of an effective development policy in Okoro. Yet if such a policy were put in hand, it could only succeed in curtailing the migration by diverting the energies of some of the potential migrants, for the migration has now become an entrenched habit, and any development policy would have to overcome an established practice in addition to other resistances.

It might be asked whether the enlarged mental horizon of the labour migrants is not itself a factor making for change on their return home. This is certainly true, and could be developed at a length inappropriate here. The extent of Alur participation in the non-native sector of the Uganda economy despite the remoteness of their homeland, must be partly due to their experiences in the migration. The Alur themselves, including those who themselves migrate, have strong views about the home influence of returned migrants. To them are attributed the serious increase in theft, especially of cattle, and the introduction of new and harmful types of magic. These are nearly all concerned with theft in one sense or another, whether of a man's property or of the love of his wife. A good example is *nana munana*,[1] a type of magic believed to have been learnt in Buganda, which spread through the Uganda Alur during 1950 and 1951. It has now become a household word, and experiences, most of them imaginary, have accumulated to convince people that hardened thieves are immune when armed with this magic.

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[1] An Alur corruption of *namba munana* a "number eight," which was adopted as a rallying cry by rioters in the Buganda disturbances because of the fabulous exploits of the Eighth Army.

Recent developments have seriously alarmed the chiefs, who would like to adopt rigorous methods to curtail the migration. Hence, some migrants believe it to be necessary to bribe the clerks to get the travel passes they need from the chiefs.

TABLE A

Table showing the differential rate of emigration (men, women and children) during each season of the year from the present Alur Counties of Okoro (Padyere and Okoro combined) and Jonam to South Uganda as shown by sleeping sickness passes given at Pakwach

1950	Okoro	Jonam
1st Qtr	261	182
2nd ,,	938	163
3rd ,,	361	84
4th ,,	552	69
Total	2,112	498

1951	Okoro	Jonam
1st Qtr	143	50
2nd ,,	632	48
3rd ,,	342	37
4th ,,	91	31
	1,208	166

The emigration of Okoro to Bunyoro and Achloi is very small indeed, i.e. 42 and 57 respectively in 1950, and 112 and 82 respectively in 1951, but there is a considerable emigration from Jonam to Acholi, i.e. 413 in 1950 and 635 in 1951. This is due to the close connection between the Jonam and Acholi people. They are separated only by the Nile and a strip of game reserve on its eastern bank which was formerly Jonam territory. Both in the Jonam succession war of 1910–12 and in the famine of 1919 large numbers of Janam went to Acholi. There is a great deal of intermarriage between them and frequent visiting to and fro.

TABLE B

Emigrants (men, women and children) from Okoro and Padyere Counties (the main emigration areas) as shown by applications for passes to the County Chief's Office. The table shows the differential emigration from the densely populated highlands area (Okoro) without a cash crop and the midlands Padyere

1950	Okoro	Padyere	Unknown	Combined
1st Qtr	117	41	165	323
2nd ,,	866	56	86	1,008
3rd ,,	82	12	10	104
4th ,,	180	14	18	212
Total	1,245	123	279	1,647

HOUSING CONTRASTS

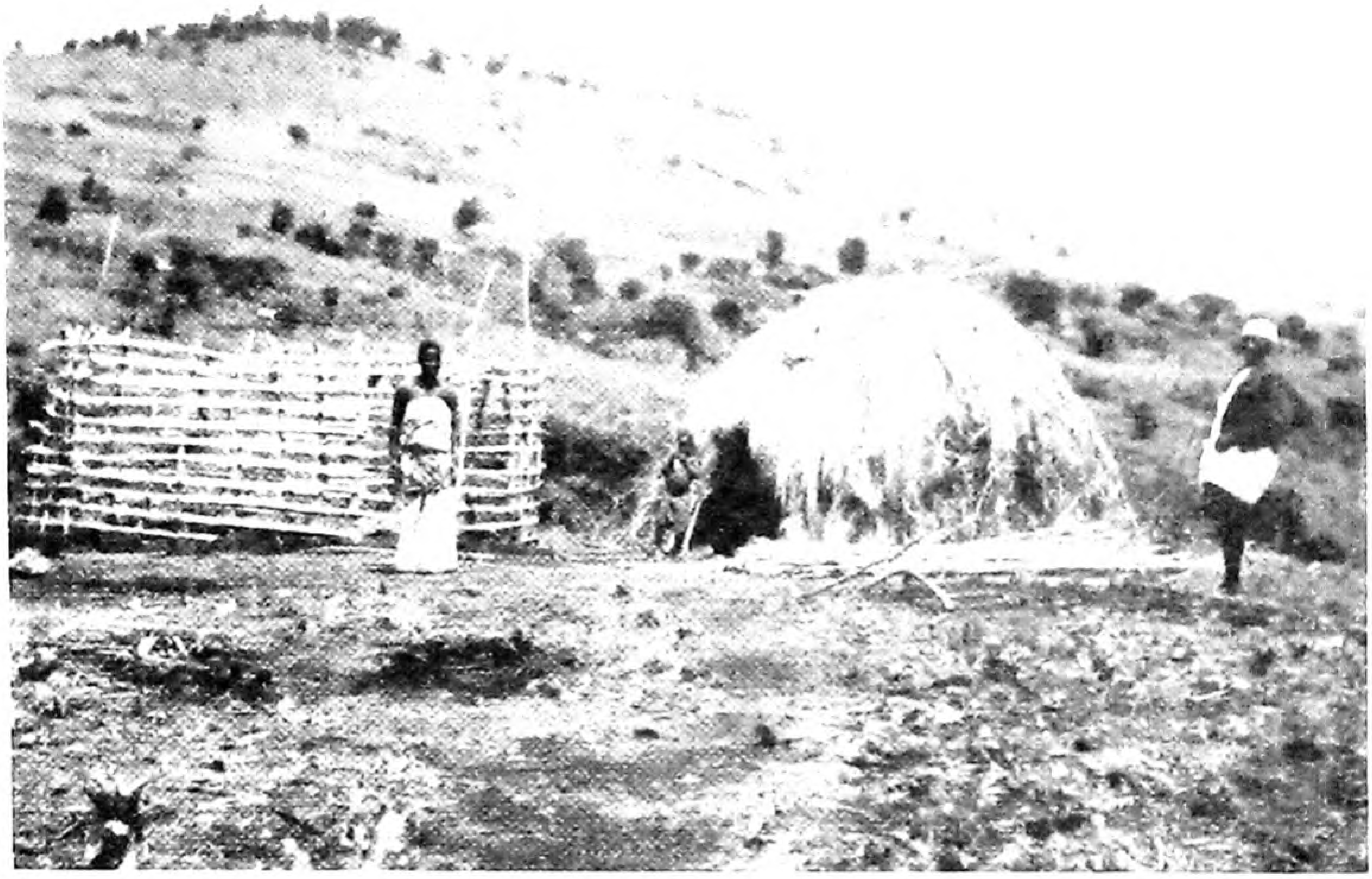

PLATE XII. An immigrant's first grass shack on the right. The framework of a more permanent mud hut on the left.

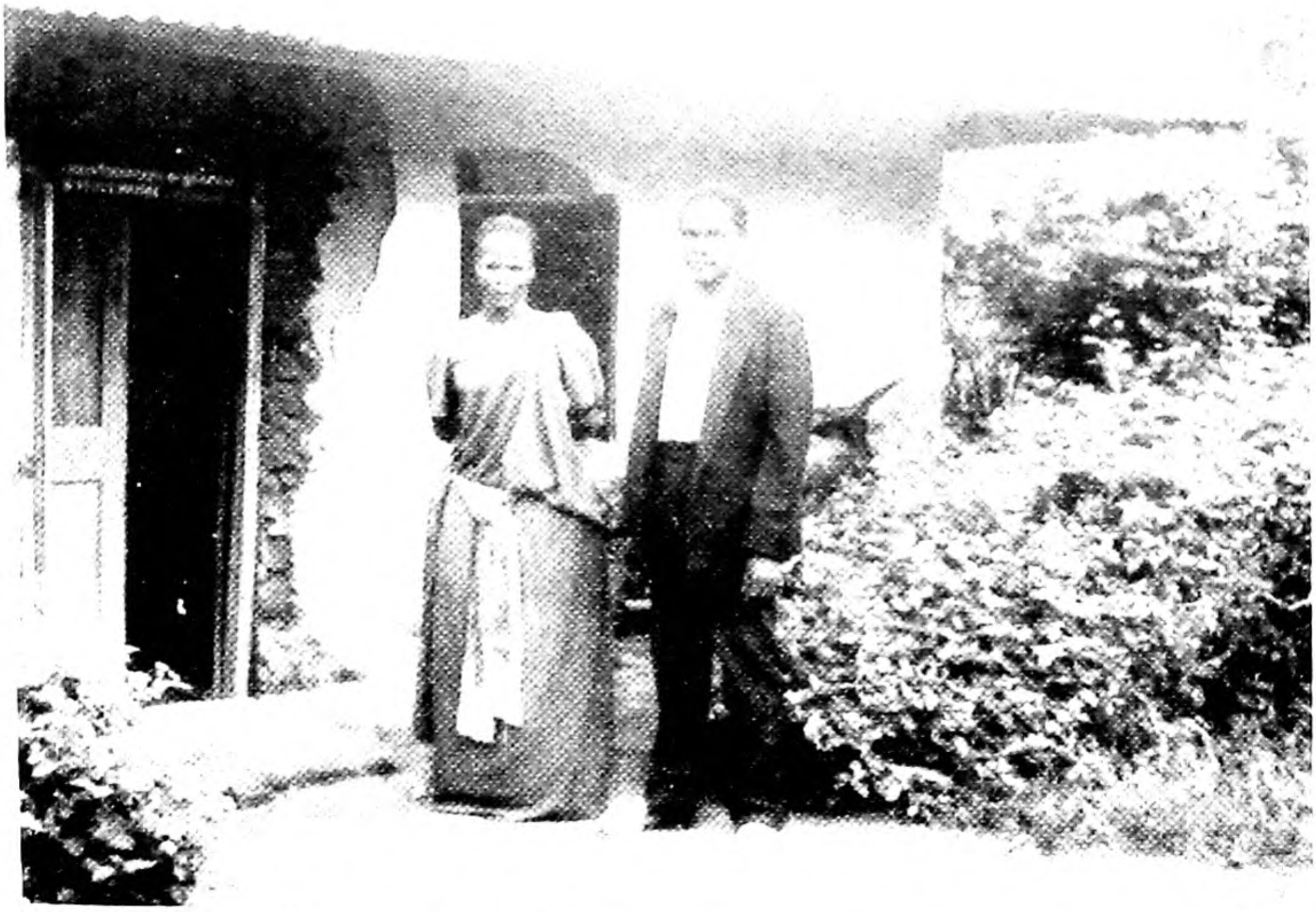

PLATE XIII. Young Ganda land-owner and wife in front of their well-built house.

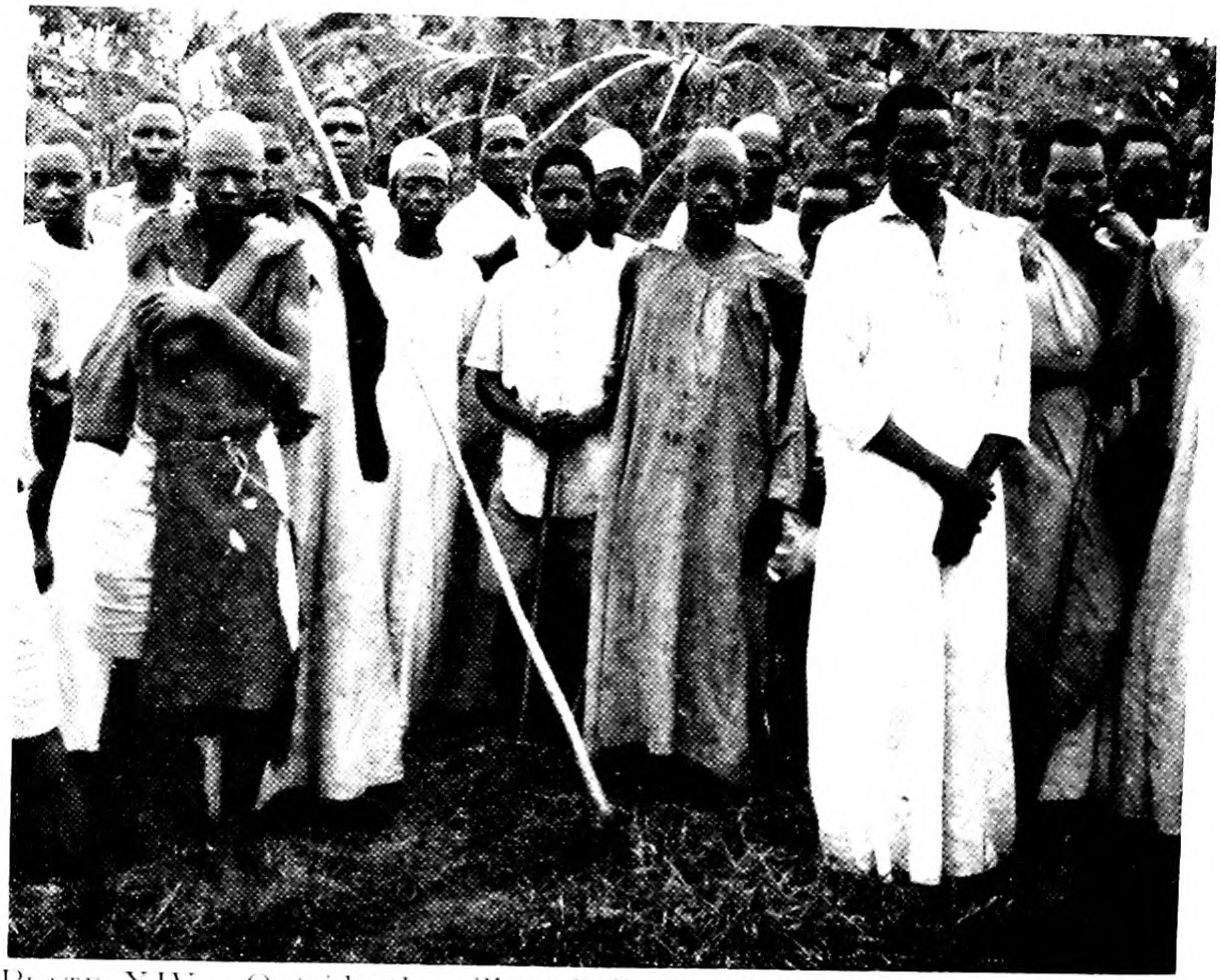

PLATE XIV. Outside the village hall. Ganda farmers in *kansus*, West Nile immigrants in rags.

PLATE XV. Ganda farmers shouting at immigrants after a stormy council meeting.

CHAPTER VII

THE ASSIMILATION OF THE IMMIGRANTS

A. I. RICHARDS

TRIBAL ATTITUDES.

In general, the Ganda consider themselves superior to most of their neighbours. Their standard of living is higher at the present day and they know that even at the end of the last century European travellers and missionaries reported that they had reached a civilisation which was superior to that of other tribes in the vicinity.[1]

They still tend to describe other peoples in Uganda as savages and express great surprise if these achieve any academic or other success in the modern world. They refer to peoples of the West Nile as being violent and lawless and speak of other immigrants and particularly those from Ruanda-Urundi as being dirty and as having unpleasant personal habits. They have several times asked that they should have separate wards at the Government hospital as Europeans and Indians have, since they say that the customs of the foreigners disgust them. They have also demanded a separate room in the municipal beerhall in Kampala. "Even a poor Ganda is cleaner than a wealthy immigrant" was a statement made on this occasion. In fact, some Ganda occasionally identify themselves with the Europeans rather than with fellow Africans. In a debate on democracy held in a junior central school, a 14-year old girl said, "If we are all equal we ought to give our porters food on plates with us, and not on banana leaves at the back door." One of her fellows replied, "But we are not equal. The Europeans and Ganda are clean and the others are dirty."

Although many villagers admitted to having friendly relations with immigrant neighbours who had settled near them, yet typical comments on foreigners in the abstract were such as these: "They are dirty. They have to carry bundles on their heads and they go naked." "You know them at once because their clothes are ragged." "You could not marry a Ruanda girl because she would not know how to be clean. She would not know how to wash the tea things nicely." "A Ruanda couldn't become a Ganda unless he had been here three years and married a Ganda woman and learned how to wash his clothes."

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[1] The British Government used them as administrators in other parts of Uganda in early days.

The Ganda also despise foreigners for being uneducated in the European sense and figures in Appendix C show that out of a total of 179 Ganda interviewed, 74 were illiterate (41 per cent.), while out of 234 immigrants questioned, 168 were illiterate (72 per cent.). The foreigners are also looked on as a subject for sport. A schoolboy said "They have such fun at the Kampala bus park. They tell the foreigners that when they see a motor sign with Halt on it, it means they have to hold their hands over their heads until they reach the next sign, and you often see porters walking in this way."[1]

It must be remembered also that when the foreigners first came into Buganda in large numbers about thirty years ago, they definitely came as unskilled labourers and the Ganda tend to regard the immigrants as workers rather than as Africans or human beings. Their attitude, in fact, resembles that of white employers to their coloured labour in some parts of the world. "A good porter" resembles such an employer's concept of "a good native" or "a good nigger." He is, in other words, a good worker who is easy to handle. Remarks noted in the villages include statements such as "I like foreigners if they are good porters." "I get on with them all right if they are hard workers." "He is a very good man. When he has done his garden work, he washes up our tea cups like a woman. He does not want a wife and he hasn't been home for a holiday for eight years." A speaker at one of the village council meetings felt it necessary to remind his listeners that after all the immigrants were human beings ("*bantu*") like they were.

Foreigners in Buganda are generally easily recognised even by Europeans. The Ganda, whether landlord or peasant, likes to wear a white *kanzu*[2] over his shirt and trousers and often puts a tweed jacket on top of the *kanzu*. He usually wears shoes. The typical immigrant who walks his way into the country is clad in ragged shorts with strands of a former shirt over his shoulder or a tunic of sacking or some such material picked up *en route*. He rarely wears shoes. This difference in appearance persists even in the villages when the porters have started to earn money. The photograph, facing page **161**, shows a typical scene outside a village hall with Ganda in their *kanzus* watching a motley crowd of ragged immigrants who have collected to meet the investigator.

The immigrants' houses are also easily distinguishable. From the top of a hill overlooking the expanse of a village spread over the hillside, the houses of the porters stand out as little grass beehive huts near those of their masters, whilst many of the tenants will also have grass huts, although they may be larger ones. The Ganda are only housed in grass huts while waiting to build something better. Out of 160 Ganda houses in the sample villages, 17·5 per cent. were grass and 82·5 per cent. mud and wattle; and out of 236 immigrants houses, 64 per cent. were grass and 36 per cent. mud and wattle.

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[1] *Cf.* also similar stories of exploitation of the foreigners' ignorance mentioned *supra*, p. 59.

[2] A long white tunic reaching to the ground.

These distinctions in ways of living are partly due to cultural differences, but mainly to distinctions in economic standards and patterns of spending. It seems clear that the immigrants come from the most poverty-stricken section of their territory of origin. European travellers from Uganda into Ruanda-Urundi find it difficult to reconcile the wealthy and even lordly appearance of some of the Africans they meet on the road with the ragged figures they are accustomed to associate with the term "Banyaruanda." The answer seems to be that the wealthy inhabitants of Ruanda-Urundi mainly belong to the ruling class, the Tutsi, and these rarely make the journey into Buganda,[1] whereas their poor subjects, the Hutu, are those who travel.

There is also a difference in spending habits. The Ganda peasant tends to put his money into clothing for himself and his family and he feels that his status in his community depends on his doing so. The foreigners have in many cases a lower standard of living in the country they come from, but they seem to feel it unnecessary to spend money on clothing unless they wish to settle. Some commented on this difference to us and one congratulated himself on not having to spend money on fine clothes. "We get richer than the Ganda because we do not buy clothes." They are in fact somewhat in the position of Englishmen who travel abroad in their oldest garments because they maintain that "there won't be anyone to see us there." One of the motives for immigration, as we have seen, is that the foreigner is able to escape for a short time from public view in his home village and live in a place where he can save money consistently without feeling or looking mean.[2]

Within these general differences in standards of living there are, of course, certain cultural distinctions which are still observed between one tribe and another. Members of some tribes still keep to their own fashion of dressing. For instance, the herdsmen, who mainly come from the Ankole district, wear a white cloth over their shoulders like a cape instead of the *kanzu*. The women sometimes wear anklets. Nubian women dress their hair in innumerable partings and little plaits and often wear large earrings. Men from Kavirondo tend to wear shirts and shorts whilst the women can be distinguished by the particular type of short tight European frock they wear and by the remarkable way in which their front teeth stick out at right angles. Even Europeans begin to distinguish differences in gait and physical type, while the Ganda say they never mistake a foreigner for one of themselves.

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[1] Only one out of 200 interviewed at the camps claimed that he was a Tutsi.

[2] The manager at a Mityana tea estate pointed out that his Ganda workers never saved, whereas his immigrant workers sent home £4 to £5 at a time in postal orders to their relatives. He also pointed out that the ragged figure in the tea garden goes home in fine new clothes when he leaves. *Cf.* also Southall's account of Alur motives in Chapter VI.

But the Ganda recognise certain deeper cultural differences among the immigrants and tend to group them either as kindred or as alien peoples. The majority of the immigrants in fact belong to the group of tribes known by ethnographers as "Inter-Lacustrian Bantu." These are—in Uganda, the Ganda, Soga, Toro, Nyoro, Nkole; in Ruanda-Urundi the Ruanda and the Rundi; and in the Lake Province of Tanganyika peoples like the Haya, Zinza, Ziba, Ha, etc. The languages of these people have a close affinity and common words appear in each of the dialects spoken. The kinship and clan organisation has a striking similarity and there are many common clans and legends of origin. All these peoples have centralised political systems with kings or paramount chiefs and a hierarchy of sub-chiefs under them, and there are surviving traces in all of them of a time in history when there was a ruling pastoral group and a subservient agricultural one—a situation which is now only marked in Ruanda-Urundi and Ankole. This group of Bantu peoples is sharply distinguished from the West Nile tribes, whether Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic, whose languages are markedly different, being mainly of the Sudanic variety, and who belong to a society mainly based on a system of clans with no central government or kingship—the so-called segmentary or egalitarian societies of East Africa as distinguished from those with centralised government.[1]

The Ganda frequently say that the peoples like the Toro, Nyoro, Nkole or Soga are nearest to them, and that they would be the best to have as settlers. It would even be quite possible to marry their girls. They say "They are like us." "They are our brothers really." They sometimes ally themselves with Bantu peoples in general as against groups of aliens from the north, but it is interesting that, when it comes to the point, economic staandards of living are a more important common tie than a legend of common origin. The Ruanda, for instance, belong to the same cultural group as the Ganda, but they are probably the most despised of all immigrants generally, on account of their poverty. Though the Ganda declare that it would be impossible to marry someone from the West Nile whereas in time one could marry a Ruanda who had learnt Ganda ways, yet the fact is that they despise the Ruanda and Rundi and regard the peoples from the West Nile with a wholesome respect.

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[1] To use the distinction made by Evans-Pritchard and Fortes in the preface to *African Political Systems*, 1940.

A number of chiefs and peasants were sounded as to their views of the merits of members of different tribes during the village surveys. There was general agreement in every *gombolola* visited that the Alur and also the Lugbara were the most difficult to handle although they were the hardest workers. We did not hear any comment in their favour, except as to their physical strength. They were accused of making the most cases and of refusing, in the first instance, to pay their taxes and even of assaulting the chiefs who came to ask for these. They were regarded almost as raiders who came into Buganda to make as much money as they could from growing seasonal cotton, and then returned home leaving their gardens with the cotton plants unburnt. Typical comments were "The Lulu (Alur) are the worst. They stay the shortest time. They go without burning the cotton plants or paying the dues. And then they drink most." "They are rough. They pull out spears quickly when they are angry." "They are bad! They commit murders. They have no laws. But of course, if they wanted to work they could work much harder than any people do here." The West Nile peoples are in fact a group that differs in culture and that does not want to be assimilated either economically or politically and does not understand the system of central government and delegated chieftainship of the Bantu.

Of the other workers, the Rundi seem to have the highest reputation. In Busiro (Mumyuka's *gombolola*), five *miruka* chiefs thought them the best workers and comments were: "They are the hardest workers. They bring no cases. When you call for communal labour, they just stand ready in the line." "They are quiet. They settle down best here." The same view was voiced by the manager of the tea estate near Wakiso, who said that the Rundi made better workers than the Ruanda. The Ruanda were given a good name for work by the *saza* authorities of Bulemezi, but were elsewhere rated as inferior to the Rundi. This may be due to the fact that they are thought to have a poorer physique. Of six men in Seseriba who said they disliked the Ruanda, two said that "They cannot work hard." "They do not work and they get sick." It is interesting to note that on the Lugazi sugar estate the Ruanda and the Rundi are kept for light work, the Lugbara for the heavy cane cutting, and the Luo from Kavirondo for cutting trees and minding machinery.

The Nkole seem to meet with general approval in the areas visited, and it was specially said of them that they were clean and could help a woman with her housework. In Seseriba five men said they liked them better than other immigrants, using such phrases as "best of all," "I like them very much." The Gishu, although happily settled in parts of Kyagwe, seem to have a bad reputation for thieving elsewhere and we struck this reputation in Busiro, Kyagwe and Buddu. They were said to rob with violence. "Ganda just steal, but Gishu come with knives and kill you."

The attitude of the foreigners towards the Ganda is less easy to decide, because it was less openly expressed. The foreigner realises that he is only in Buganda on sufferance and that it behoves him to keep his mouth shut until his position is established. Most of the immigrants interviewed said with rather too great emphasis, that they liked the Ganda and that the Ganda liked them very much indeed. Some admitted that the Ganda laughed at them, but in two cases added "They laugh at us and call us foreigners and wild beasts but we don't mind as we want the money. Besides we know we are foreigners here." Another said "But we do not mind this treatment because we are many and because we want to stay." Many of the immigrants admired Ganda law and expressed gratitude that they had been able to get land in Buganda. Their criticisms were on the whole that the Ganda were lazy and that their women were unfaithful and made bad wives and that they were haughty.

The difference in attitude between one group and another seemed to depend very largely on whether the speaker intended to settle in the country or not. Many Ruanda and Rundi do, as we have seen, want to settle, whilst most of the people from the West Nile only want to rent land temporarily. As a class Ruanda and Rundi tend to imitate the Ganda in dress and ways and to say complacently after many years in the country, "We have become Ganda." But those who do not want to settle maintain this fact quite aggressively. The Nkole mentioned earlier who had made 27 trips to Buganda, stated most emphatically that nothing would induce him to stay. The attitude also depends on the relative sizes of the two groups in contact. An isolated foreigner tries to obliterate himself and to melt into the Ganda background, whereas a member of a large group of foreigners is encouraged to persist in his own customs and to declare they are good.[1]

The indices of absorption in Ganda life are probably the type of clothes, the type of hut, the use of Ganda names, and the willingness to do unpaid work for chiefs or landlords. Ruanda who want to become Ganda wear the *kanzu* and the shoes and adopt the general spending pattern of their hosts. They build mud huts carefully modelled on those of the Ganda and since the building of even a mud hut costs as much as Shs. 100 to Shs. 150, they naturally do not undertake this work until they mean to settle. It is common for such people to adopt Ganda names even though this custom is derided by their hosts. Many common names like Kapere or Musoke are so taken. More resentment is felt when clan names are given to immigrant babies and this is especially great if the names are those of one of the princely clans. Ganda shrugged their shoulders when an adopted Ruanda declared he would be buried on his plot and found a clan centre there.

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[1] A summary of attitudes collected in the different villages is given in Chapter IX.

Assimilated immigrants also join in local activities. They belong to churches and they attend meetings and in fact their position might be summarised in the words of one Ruanda who said "Yes, I want to become a Ganda. I join in everything they do. When I have enough money I mean to be baptised like the Ganda." Such men hate to be reminded of their foreign origin and we were told by Ganda at one meeting where immigrants were numerous, "*You* can call them foreigners. They will be angry if we do." Thus, in spite of a surface assimilation, both groups remain vividly conscious of their origin.

STRUCTURAL INCORPORATION.

How are the foreigners incorporated into the social structure of the Ganda in the sense of obtaining membership of the various interlocking groups of which that society is composed, whether these are based on kinship, neighbourhood, political organisation or religious belief? Are the strangers so incorporated in Ganda social structure at all, and if so, to what extent?

These are important questions. In States with centralised governments which exercise control over the entry of aliens and require them to be identified by means of passports, a number of barriers are put in the way of their obtaining full citizenship as legally defined in the country in question. Before some such legal act of "naturalisation" the foreigner has different rights and duties from the nationals of the country where he is living. He may be prevented entry into the country unless he fulfils certain conditions, and once entered, he may be forbidden from practising certain occupations where competition is thought to threaten the nationals of the State in which he lives. His interests are protected by his own Ambassador or Consul. He is not able to vote at political elections or to serve on juries. Even when full legal citizenship has been granted, which, in the United Kingdom at any rate, takes a considerable number of years and many enquiries as to the suitability of the applicant for citizenship, this new legal status does not yet carry with it any entry to the many informal social groups to which the people of the country belong. He may be excluded from clubs, trade unions and recreational groups and so forced to rely on ties with members of his own culture. It is likely that he will not be chosen to represent the natives of the country in political life. In other words legal status as a national does not automatically confer full incorporation into the social structure of the people.

In fact, in some States the immigrants form large separate communities which remain isolated from the other inhabitants of the country for long periods of time. In some cases equal citizenship may be accorded to men and women of these different cultures in that they are legally recognised as nationals of the State in question or "protected persons" in the case of a Protectorate. But each community may claim and maintain considerable cultural isolation. Its children may be forced to be taught in their mother tongue in separate schools, and its customary law may be applied in its own courts. Malaya is usually taken as an example of a plural society of this kind. In other States immigrant groups are recognised as nationals of the country in which they have been settled for some time but they may never achieve equal citizenship with the indigenous or earlier inhabitants. For instance, Indians resident in the Union of South Africa suffer disabilities as to the purchase of land and have differential rights to political privileges and to social services such as educational facilities, schools and poor relief.

This differential treatment of foreigners is not surprising. The concept of common citizenship for members of the same culture and nationality is relatively new in England and it has probably only been fully accepted in the philosophy of the welfare state. T. H. Marshall has recently argued that full civil, political and social citizenship for all British subjects has only been slowly achieved in England in the course of three centuries and that before that time the lower strata of society did not expect to exercise the same legal and political rights as the higher.[1] It is not, therefore, unnatural that immigrants coming from different cultures should only be admitted to partial citizenship in the country to which they come.

To compare the position of the Ruanda entering Buganda with that of a European going to settle in America or a neighbouring European state may seem far-fetched, yet the analogy is worth considering. The methods by which the Ganda and other African tribes incorporate foreign elements have not been studied as fully as they should be in view of the enormous amount of movement of individual Africans and their families which is going on in different parts of Africa to-day, let alone the Government resettlement schemes which are being organised for large groups. The tribal admixture in Buganda is not unique. Immigrants from overcrowded Kigezi are being settled in Ankole. In Tanganyika the vigorous Sukuma are spreading over their borders into other parts of the Lake Province. Barotseland is a mixture of 25 tribes and Gluckman speaks of "thousands of recent immigrants from Angola."[1]

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[1] T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, 1950.

Nor is this process of tribal admixture new. The history of Africa as we know it is a record of the continuous spread of different tribal or even kinship groups by a slow process of natural expansion and infiltration of other cultures as well as by more violent means such as war or conquest giving rise to confederations, dependent kingdoms or conquest states. Wherever individuals or groups of one culture try to penetrate another culture there is a problem of structural incorporation. Single men or members of a kinship group are trying to establish themselves in a society in which the rights and the duties of a citizen, political, economic or residential, are mainly based on hereditary descent, or on links with a royal dynasty which is itself founded on principles of descent. As in other societies based on genealogical precedence, the social structure consists of a network of person-to-person relationships in which privilege and status are graded according to an accepted hierarchy based on age, descent, or proximity to a royal line. In such communities the foreigner is naturally something of an anomaly.[2] He cannot acquire common citizenship by a single act such as a deed of "naturalisation"; in fact the concept of equal privileges for every member of the society hardly exists. He must be fitted in to one or more accepted roles in the political, local or kinship system by which the host society is integrated. It is a process slowly achieved and rarely completed. The foreigner may be accepted in one role and not another.

A number of instances of such structural incorporation of foreigners have been recorded. Immigrants, whether captives, refugees or enterprising travellers, have been absorbed into the kinship system of their hosts either as slaves to a particular household when their subsequent children tend to be reckoned as members of the master's clan; by formal adoption as "sons" of the house; by inter-marriage with a daughter of the house; or by the pledging of blood brothership. By some such means the foreigner gets an accepted role as son, brother, or brother-in-law in a group based on descent. Whole groups of immigrants have been incorporated as "affiliated lineages," to use the term Fortes has applied to groups of foreign origin which have become attached to a local lineage among the Tallensi of the Gold Coast.[1] Suitable fictional lines of descent are usually provided in such cases and have been described among many tribes.[2] There may also be economic incorporation as when the foreigners are employed in definite economic roles as unskilled workers, serfs, or cattle-herds; as specialised artisans such as iron-workers; or as trade partners as in the case of strangers among the Lozi.[3]

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[1] M. Gluckman, "The Lozi of Barotseland," in *Seven Tribes of British Central Africa*, 1951, p. 6.

[2] *Cf.* the situation of R. Firth arriving as an anthropologist on a small island in Polynesia and finding he could have no social existence at all unless he was adopted as one of the islander's "sons." R. Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, 1936, p. 235.

Political incorporation can be achieved where the foreigner attaches himself as subject to a chief and gives tribute in kind and work in return for protection and the right to cultivate—a common phenomenon all over Bantu Africa; or where a group of immigrants establishes a separate community or village while acknowledging the supremacy of the chief or other ruler of the district, and giving him tribute.

These different types of structural incorporation are often very complex and need a good deal of further study before it will be possible to generalise at all as to the type of social structure which makes possible the full or partial absorption of foreigners of one culture into the structure of the other. The position in Buganda is merely one instance of a phenomenon that is very widespread and it is the process of assimilation of the Ruanda and other immigrants into the structure of Ganda society which must now be analysed.

Economic Incorporation.

Foreigners can be very easily assimilated into the economic organisation of the Ganda. This is not only because their labour is now eagerly wanted for the cotton and coffee gardens but because Buganda has a tradition of absorbing immigrants in this way, as Powesland has explained. In the past every Ganda was ambitious to build up as large a household and following as possible and to this end men and women from other tribes were an asset. Peasants were rewarded for valour in battle by the present of slaves by the lord or chief for whom they had fought. They could be given slaves by relatives who had been promoted to the rank of chiefs, and they could inherit slaves from their fathers. There were the *abanyage* (those pillaged or stolen in war); as well as the *abagule*

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[1] M. Fortes, *Dynamics of Clanship*, 1945.

[2] E.g. the Nuer, and the Mayombe of the Congo.

[3] M. Gluckman, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

(those bought). All these came into the category of "*abenvumu*" or true slaves, that is to say people not free in any sense. In a superior position were the young Ganda given by their maternal uncles into slavery, usually in lieu of debts. Of the total number of such dependent persons the captives in war were probably members of other tribes and the bought, inherited or given slaves might be foreigners, but could also be of Ganda origin.

Chiefs had the lion's share of war captives and distributed the remainder to faithful followers. They could also buy more slaves if they needed them. The king could not buy slaves since he had the right to the first choice of war-captives but he had considerable numbers of them. In the days of Mwanga at the end of the nineteenth century when the country was disturbed by frequent wars and religious faction fights, captured slaves became very numerous. They might be sent to fight as slave soldiers. In the army of Chota, one prominent lord himself sent sixty such slaves as his contribution to the forces, while another sent thirty.

The sons of male slaves remained slaves in theory, but in practice a clever attractive child would be passed off as a son of his master even though this was a reprehensible thing to do. Many a foreigner's child reached high office in Buganda through this means. The children of women slaves joined their masters' clan and were thus incorporated in the kinship system of their Ganda owners.

Besides such slaves both chiefs and king were served by the sons of well-to-do men who wanted to please them and attract favour for themselves or their children. These were the *abasige* and formed a big addition to a noble household. Here again the foreigner got chances of promotion. A man who did not want to send his own child as a *musige* would send a slave child, pretending that the latter was his own, and giving him membership of his clan for the purpose. Kaira, a famous prime minister in the reign of Mutesa I, was such a foreign-born child. Ganda society was always a very mobile one. Promotion depended on the personal favour of chiefs and king and the child from another tribe who attracted attention and served his lord faithfully was likely to reach a court office, more likely, some say, than a Ganda boy who had a strong allegiance to his own family, which might run counter to the service demanded by his lord.

All these different classes of dependents in a household were classed as *abaddu* (male servants) or *abazana* (female servants) whether they were slave or free-born.[1] Thus the concept of men and women closely assimilated into a Ganda household and its family relationships, but with an inferior status, must have been a familiar one when cotton was first introduced into Buganda. The foreign porters who began to stream into the country during the twenties and thirties were of course in a different position as they were temporarily employed and free to move as they pleased, but some Ganda still speak of their foreign labourers as though they ought to conform to the old slave-dependant role. It is probable that at least part of the indignation now expressed when porters refuse to stay as labourers and demand land in their own right is due to their feeling that foreigners ought to be ready to remain in a subject position all their lives. Indeed, in the old days there seem to have been few foreigners in Buganda who were not in a servile position, except for small groups of foreign craftsmen or musicians under the protection of some great lord, and a few itinerant tradesmen.

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[1] Mr. E. M. K. Mulira collected most of the material on slavery recorded here.

The second role filled by the immigrants, that of customary tenant, is also a traditional one. It appears to have been quite common in the past for foreigners as well as Ganda peasants to apply to a chief or to a lord to become his man. This process was known as "*kusenga*," to serve or become a subject-tenant of a chief and the man in question was known as the *musenze* or, more simply, the *musajja* (man) of his lord. Such a man would usually be given a plot of land and thus become a *mukopi* or customary tenant, but he might remain a personal follower only. This is quite a widely spread Bantu practice outside Uganda and it formed a common mechanism by which a feudal tenant could escape from a lord whom he considered tyrannical and join the service of one he preferred. Individuals or families from other tribes seem to have moved over the border into Buganda to take service with a chief or lord with a good reputation in that country.

The modern immigrant takes up the role of a customary tenant if he can. He receives nearly all the rights of a Ganda peasant, although he may be allotted worse and usually less land.[1] Though he doesn't fulfil all the traditional expectations of the Ganda landowner, yet he conforms more nearly to this pattern than does the Ganda peasant since he is more willing to carry out some of the old dues and services. He is said to be foremost in doing communal labour. In other words this method of incorporating foreigners is an old and recognised one. The difference is of course that Buganda is now trying to incorporate enormous numbers of foreign peasants instead of isolated individuals, and the process is involving strain.

The relationship of peasant to landlord is not such a personal one now, owing to the fact that landowners frequently live off their estates in towns elsewhere. Nevertheless, the absorption of immigrants is obviously easier than in other parts of Africa, where land is held by a chief or a tribal council and the admission of a foreigner is rather a political act than an individual economic contract. Foreigners, and especially Ruanda and Rundi, recognise this fact and often comment at the ease of getting land in Buganda.

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[1] From the figures collected in Appendix C, Table V, the estimated acreages of Ganda to foreigners in Busiro are 5·8 : 3·9; in Kyagwe 4·1 : 4·2 and in Buddu 10·9 : 7·6.

On the other hand the traditional role of landowner in Buganda society makes it very difficult for a foreigner to assume this position. Control over land was formerly associated with political authority and it was acquired usually as a direct gift from the King. Though the 1900 Agreement turned the then chiefs into land-owners, yet they retained, and still retain, much of their former political authority. They are the predominant voice in the Ganda councils at all levels in spite of recent efforts by the Protectorate Government to secure a greater representation of peasants and men with special knowledge and abilities (*cf.* pp. 182–3). The number of landowners has increased very rapidly from the allotment of 3,700 at the first division in 1905 to a total number of proprietors estimated at 50,000 in 1952 with a possible further 10,000 titles waiting to be registered. The large landowner chiefs are fewer and fewer in number yet the *mutongole* with tenants still has considerable authority over them. He speaks for them in council meetings and collects their tax on occasions and often settles their disputes.

The fiction that land is the gift of the Kabaka still remains. Heirs to estates must be formally presented to him in open court and make obeisance to him. Disputes over land inheritance are heard by a special Kabaka's court.

All these factors account for the emotional attitude of the Ganda towards the very idea of an outsider buying land. The small number of foreigners who have succeeded in doing so shows the strength of this sentiment (*cf.* pp. 185–8).

Incorporation into the Village.

The incorporation of foreigners into the village structure is a rather complex process to describe. The old Ganda village (*mutala*) seems to have been composed of a loosely connected group of relatives of which the senior was probably a clan head (*mutaka*) or a small *mutongole* chief. Added to these there were some outsiders assimilated as peasants by the process described above. In long settled parts of the country something of the same structure still survives, but even in the newer communities that have grown up since the allocation of land in 1900 and 1908 there is a strong kinship core. The chiefs who got land in the first allocation of *mailo* estates divided it among their relatives. Some of this land was later sold, but it is rare not to find some of the children of the original owner in a dominating position in the original village community, and in many cases all the owners of more than 10 acres in the village are members of the minimal lineage (*enda*). Again where *mailo* land has been sold it is common for the buyer of a big estate to accumulate his own relations around him and new groups of closely related men and women appear. In the case of one genealogy taken, a *mailo* owner who had had nine wives, died in 1946, leaving seven widows, six sons and seven daughters behind him. He had an estate in Busiro at the clan centre (*butaka*) of his branch of the clan and another near Kampala. The distribution of his descendants at present is as follows:—

Living at the estate at Busiro are four widows, four sons and their families of which one is the *muruka* chief of the area, and three daughters, one married and two married but deserted. The main heir is at present a chief somewhere else but he means to retire to this district. Two sons live on the second estate near Kampala where they are carrying on business. The whereabouts of three of the widows was not noted. Thus 13 out of 17 of the original man's descendants are still living on his original *mailo* estates, 11 in Busiro and 2 near Kampala. The genealogy of the *muruka* chief at Luwoko (*cf.* p. 247) illustrates the history of a large estate in Buddu given out to a minor chief. On the death of this man in 1927, 5 out of 15 sons inherited large tracts of land of about 100 acres each and some of these have put younger children or maternal nephews to live on the land. Four sons are living on their father's land in the neighbouring village, 2 daughters are married to the same local landowner who bought land from the original chief and has now become a *muruka* chief himself. Thus in a village with 25 Ganda householders there is a solid core of 5 large landowners with their children and tenants who are all brothers or half-brothers, and 3 big landlords who are nearly related in the next village, not counting numerous female relatives on customary plots. In Lugala, another survey village, 10 out of 13 landowners are directly descended from a common great grandfather. (*cf.* pp. 241–2).

In circumstances such as these, it is not surprising that foreigners remain on the outskirts of social life unless they can marry into the landowning class or build up groups of their own tribesmen and possibly buy land of their own. They cannot, and do not, play a main part in village affairs. Investigators noted that when they visited the house of a big landlord or that of a *muruka* chief, those assembled to greet them were brothers, sons or close relatives while the foreigners as often as not did not appear. A long settled immigrant will try to become the centre of a cluster of related households of his own and may achieve this position in relatively unoccupied land, but there are as yet no separate foreign estates since landowning by foreigners is rare. There are no separate villages of foreigners except in the case of temporary communities of the Alur and probably other Nilo-Hamitic peoples, or in the case of the Nubians in their settlement at Bombo, which dates from a half century or so ago.

KINSHIP INCORPORATION.

The Ganda are divided into clans (*kika*) and these are subdivided into a series of lineages of decreasing magnitude known by such terms as the *siga*, the *enda*, and the *enyumba* or "house." The latter means in effect the sons and grandsons of one man. The clans have a number of distinguishing marks such as totemic observances, a set of names thought appropriate for the boys and girls born into the clan and a number of prerogatives associated with the court such as the care of the royal drums or the carrying out of ritual offices. Centres of origin both of the clan and its subsidiary lineages are remembered, and land rights were, and to a certain extent still are, associated with the graves of ancestors buried in the major and subsidiary centres of origin (*butaka*). Social status is at least in part dependent on membership of certain clans or lineages and marriage into old families is highly prized.

The genealogical senior of a clan or lineage acts as its head (*mukulu we kika* or *mukulu we siga*) and the leader of each group is responsible for matters of inheritance and landownership. When the heirs of an estate are presented to the Kabaka it is the head of the clan or the lineage who presents them. Deaths and marriages are reported to him. It is sometimes assumed that the clan and lineage system of the Ganda is disappearing owing to modern conditions, but this does not appear to be the case. The functions of the clan and lineage have changed, but there are many factors which have actually made for the strengthening of kinship ties. For instance, transport by bus and car has made lineage meetings possible and has also made it easier to take the dead to be buried at *Butaka* centres. Again the tremendous value attached to landownership among the present-day Ganda is strengthening the ties of kinship between a man or a woman and any senior member of his or her *siga* who may happen to own large quantities of land on which he will give or rent them plots.

How does the foreigner fit into this basic system of social relationships? Ganda will say that in the old days it was perfectly possible for a foreigner such as a Soga or a Nyoro to be incorporated into a

Ganda clan. On further questioning, however, it becomes clear that this only took place in the case of individuals and usually where a child of another clan, taken in war or as tribute, had been brought up in a Ganda household (*cf.* pp. 170–1). An intelligent and likeable child does not seem to have been adopted in any formal sense of the word but the fact of his foreign origin was carefully concealed. Thus there was no accepted way of assimilating foreigners into the clan but a man might practise a carefully calculated ruse for passing off another's child as his own.[1] It was in fact common when a chief reached a high position for some jealous rival to charge him with being of foreign blood. There seem to have been few cases of foreign lineages having been incorporated as groups, although it is said that one *siga* of the *Mamba* (lung-fish) clan was composed of Nyoro for various historical reasons.

Nowadays, most Ganda deny that a foreigner could be incorporated into a clan. But they also admit indignantly that Ruanda and others do try to pass themselves off as clan members. Sometimes a member of a clan that has branches, for instance, in Busoga and Buganda will try to claim membership of the Ganda branch. Alternatively a foreigner who speaks good Luganda will move from one *saza* to another and will tell his fellow villagers in the new *saza* that he is a member of a *siga* well known in the area from which he comes. He will learn and recite the ancestors of this *siga*. An assimilated Ruanda in a Busiro village showed his father's grave to the investigator and announced that he was setting up his *butaka* there. This remark was, however, received with incredulous sniggers by the surrounding people.

Both Ganda and foreigners pronounce themselves against intermarriage and their views are equally strong. In one *mutala* in Busiro, a *muruka* chief assured us that no Ganda could marry a Rundi since they were dirty. Only a girl who had lived fifteen years in the country and learnt to keep house nicely would be fit to marry. His deputy, a Nyamwezi, said "None of us would marry a Ganda woman. They are all harlots. They like men and beer. They do not like children. We foreigners have more children than they do. Besides, the Ganda are diseased. You would not want to marry such a woman." These remarks seem to typify common attitudes.

It must be remembered, too, that a proper Ganda marriage—*wampeta*, "of the ring"—is an expensive affair. It usually involves a white satin dress and veil for the bride and a special ornamental *kanzu* for the bridegroom, as well as a large feast. Crockery and cooking utensils have to be gathered together and a house built. Sums in the neighbourhood of £50 to £100 would not be thought uncommon. It is unlikely in these circumstances that a Ganda man would want to incur such expense for a foreign bride and immigrant men assured us that they certainly would not be able to afford such a big sum in order to marry a Ganda woman. Expense was, in fact, one of the main reasons they gave for preferring to fetch a wife from their own country.

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[1] The same type of concealment is sometimes used among the Ganda themselves, when the child of a distant relative is brought up as a son of the house. A man whose genealogy has been taken will sometimes request the investigator not to show the relationship within the household to the children who compose it, for fear they will realise they are not his own sons or daughters.

Another reason which seems to make immigrants reluctant to marry Ganda women is the fact that the latter are rarely willing to accompany foreign husbands back to their own homes. According to Ganda law the father has rights over the children of any type of union, however short the duration of the relationship may have been. But in the case of a mixed marriage it seems that the courts do not force a Ganda woman to give up her children, if the husband wants to return to Ruanda-Urundi. The immigrant father therefore risks losing his children in this type of marriage.

Nevertheless, even when announcing that mixed marriages cannot, and do not, take place, the speakers tended to qualify by saying "Anyhow, people of good family do not do it," or to say "Well, it is beginning now, but it is not taking place much." It is interesting that the Nyamwezi who made such strong pronouncements above, had actually married two Ganda women himself. It is to be noted that both sides say that their men will not marry foreign women although they will sometimes admit that their women marry foreign men. For instance, in Kyagwe, in an area of great admixture, a Ganda said that no man of his tribe would marry a foreigner but a Dama said "Ganda men marry Dama girls but no Dama man would marry a Ganda girl."

From figures collected it does seem that actual intermarriages are very rare considering the length of time there has been tribal admixture. From the Sofers' report it is clear that in 1948 the male–female ratio of persons in the marriageable age group, i.e. 16 to 45 years, in the general African population in Uganda was 100 : 105, whereas among the Ruanda it was 100 : 64 and among the Rundi it was 100 : 26. This means in effect that of those between 16 and 45 there is a deficit of 74 women for every 100 male Ruanda and 36 women for every 100 male Rundi. Under these circumstances intermarriage would have been expected to be very common. But in the sample villages in Busiro, 6 out of 70 married foreign men were married to Ganda women, i.e. 8·6 per cent., but no foreign woman was married to a Ganda. In Kyagwe, 2 out of

27 foreign men who were married had Ganda wives and 1 out of 24 married Ganda men had a foreign wife. In view of the length of settlement of foreigners in these villages, this rate must be reckoned as very low. In Buddu, 3 out of 45 married male Ganda had contracted unions with immigrant women and 2 out of 49 foreign men were married to Ganda girls.

Marriage with the more alien West Nile immigrants is still said to be impossible, but Middleton records temporary unions with Ganda girls in Lugbara settlements in the south. Ganda women married to Nubians are said to be completely incorporated in that group as regards clothing and hair style.

The answer to this apparent discrepancy between the high male-female sex-ratios and the low rate of mixed marriages probably lies in the fact that the Ganda reckon as a true marriage only a union which has been celebrated in a Christian church or according to Ganda custom. The 1948 census illustrates this fact in a convincing way. In one *gombolola* near Entebbe, 60 per cent. of the females over 16 were registered as unmarried, although there were just as many children per head of the female population as in other areas. In the sample *gombolola* the percentage of single women was as follows:—

	Mutuba VII Kyagwe	Mumyuka Busiro	Mutuba III Busiro	Musale Buddu
Percentage of females, 16 and over, single ..	21·4	19·9	8·8	8·5

It is clear, therefore, that unions which are celebrated neither by Christian nor by Ganda ritual are not reckoned as marriages at all.

It would be easy, under present conditions, for a foreigner to have casual relations with a Ganda woman without the latter having incurred the stigma of having been "married" to a foreigner. In fact, one of the reasons given us for the small number of legal cases concerning the stealing of women which appeared in the *gombolola* records examined during the survey (*cf.* pp. 188–93) was that "there are so many Ganda women who wander about and do not want to get married. They are often 'friends' to the foreign men."

Thus it can be said that there is very little incorporation of foreigners into the kinship system of the Ganda. It practically never occurs in the case of clan assimilation, and intermarriage is extremely rare considering the sex-ratios involved, although it is probably becoming more common and temporary unions of different kinds are no doubt numerous.

POLITICAL INCORPORATION.

Lastly, how are the foreigners incorporated into the political system of their hosts either in posts of executive authority or as members of councils or courts at any level (*saza*, *gombolola* or *muruka*)? How far under modern conditions can they exercise any power of choice of their representatives to higher councils?

The question of leadership in Ganda society is an interesting one since the chiefs of *saza*, *gombolola* and *muruka* are not hereditary but appointed by the Kabaka and transferrable from office to office. They thus approach much more nearly to the position of civil servants than is the case in most parts of Africa, where chiefs and sub-chiefs owe their position to hereditary descent, often in local lines. In theory, therefore, it ought to be much easier for a foreigner of ability or merit to acquire political office in the Ganda system, than in those parts of East Africa where chiefs are selected on a hereditary basis.

In the past, as has been mentioned, there have been instances in which individuals believed to be of foreign blood have risen to posts of eminence and even to *saza* chieftainships or ministerial rank, but these were always individuals who had been assimilated into a Ganda family in early youth. We believe that there is no recorded case of appointment to high office of a man known to be a foreigner. Nowadays there seems to be no infiltration by immigrants into the higher ranks of chieftainship, and most Ganda laugh heartily at the notion that a foreigner could ever be a *saza* chief. Men in Busiro, an old settled district, told us in tones of alarm that they heard foreigners were being made *gombolola* chiefs in Kyagwe and Buddu, districts known for their high proportion of immigrants, but no such cases were found to have occurred. Very few immigrants have in fact been appointed even to the rank of *muruka* chief, and this would be difficult since this type of chief is mostly drawn from the landowning class and foreigners rarely buy land. A case is recorded of a Nubian *muruka* chief being appointed in the Bombo area where there is a large Nubian settlement. In Kyagwe, in Mutuba V, a Kavirondo was made a *gombolola* clerk and from this position rose to become a *muruka* chief. A Dama also held a post as a *muruka* chief but has since been replaced by a Ganda. The table given on page 185 shows that three foreigners are acting as *miruka* chiefs in Bulemezi, but their tribal affiliation is unknown.

The fact that all the higher political offices remain in the hands of the Ganda is a very natural one, in a society in which appointments to chieftainships lie in the hands of the Kabaka and his ministers and where political authority is so closely associated with the holding of land. A new chief, whether *saza*, *gombolola* or *muruka*, has to present himself before the Kabaka and make obeisance to him. He must give his clan, lineage and ancestral burial ground. He also gives his mother's clan and recites the exploits of any eminent forbears he may have. Such chiefs usually begin their declamation by saying with a swagger "*Ndi musajja Muganda*" (I am a man of the Baganda). Occasionally chiefs appointed to the counties which formerly belonged to Bunyoro say with some emphasis "I am a Munyoro" but this is rare, and Ganda are much amused when they tell how the Nubian chief from Bombo spoke to the Kabaka in Swahili and how the latter replied in that language.

In other words, the Ganda chiefs may be transferrable bureaucrats but they are something more than mere civil servants. They owe special allegiance to the King and are chosen by him for their offices. They rule, not only by virtue of their proficiency in modern administration, but through their position as landowners and their knowledge of the families, lineages and clans in their areas and of a body of customary law which it would be hard for a foreigner to assimilate.

There does not seem to be any difficulty in Ganda eyes in the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of a *muruka* are immigrants and the chief a Ganda. They are accustomed to the notion that it is fitting for the Ganda to rule over foreigners since they were originally employed in this capacity by the British and took charge of most districts in Uganda in the early years of the occupation. The laughing remark of a *gombolola* chief in Buddu "Well, I and my sons will soon be the only Ganda left in this *gombolola*" did not strike him as so anomalous as it would Europeans.

Moreover, the whole political structure of Ganda society has always been organised from top to bottom according to a hierarchy both of office and of social precedence. *Gombolola* chiefs at the present day are appointed to a series of titles called after the old court and military offices, e.g. the *mumyuka*, the *sabaddu*, the *sabawali*, etc. (see note on page 77), ten or more such offices being arranged in order of precedence. The *miruka* chiefs under them are given the same name and titles and are also arranged in the same hierarchy. Below this, the *miruka* chiefs themselves select landlords according to their prominence, popularity and ability, and apply the same titles to them. Thus a *saza* chief speaks of his leading *gombolola* chief as his *mumyuka*, whilst the *gombolola* chief has his *mumyuka* and the *muruka* chief uses the same term for his leading subordinate. At the *muruka* level this hierarchy of titles gives right to little more than social precedence, but, nevertheless, the status attached to them is highly prized and even at the smallest *muruka* council the chief will introduce the office holders in this order, one by one, and will then call on the landlords (*batongole*) to rise and then the tenants (*bakopi*). Societies of this type are naturally hard for a foreigner to penetrate since their hierarchies are based on alien standards of values and political ideas.

On the other hand, men of other tribes frequently wield considerable executive authority, behind the scenes as it were, by means of the institution of the *musigire* (deputy or substitute) which is part and parcel of the whole Ganda system of exercising authority. Each *mutongole* has his *musigire* who receives very little pay[1] but who collects the landowner's statutory dues, gives out plots and generally looks after the tenants. This work is arduous but it carries with it many perquisites. The *musigire* can give out plots to his own friends. It is he who keeps at any rate most of the key-money referred to in Chapter V and not the landowner. In the case of an absentee landlord, the *musigire* comes to call himself the "*mutongole*" and exerts many of the privileges of that rank. The post of *musigire* is often held by a foreigner, even sometimes on land owned by a member of the royal family. The ambitious immigrant is willing to undertake tiresome duties in order to get his foot on the bottom rung of the Ganda ladder. The Ganda is often loath to take the trouble. Landowners sometimes say that foreigners are more reliable than Ganda in handling the large sums of money involved. The foreigner has definitely become a client or faithful follower of the landowner devoted to his interests and rewarded by him, as happened in the old days with Ganda clients of great lords. As many landowners are absentees or own land in other parts of Buganda, the number of these *basigire* is very large.[2]

The *muruka* chief also has his *musigire* who collects taxes for him, supervises the collection of cotton dues, listens to disputes and receives guests, and often accompanies prisoners to the *gombolola*

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[1] A common reward is to remit the *busulu* or annual rent and the *envujo* or tax on cotton and sometimes to provide a deputy with a *kanzu* worth, new, about £3.

[2] The figures for absenteeism among landlords in the sample *gombolola* are as follows in Busiro and Kyagwe:—

		Total number	Percentage		
			On estate	Absent	Not known
Busiro	Mumyuka	410	71·5	26·3	2·2
	Mutuba III	133	72·2	27·8	—
Kyagwe	Mutuba VII	142	81·7	18·3	—

court. These men formerly had no pay but were merely excused from paying their annual rent and dues. The *basigire* of *miruka* chiefs are again not uncommonly foreigners and again for the same reason, because they are ambitious and are ready to do tiresome and unrewarding work in order to get on in the society in which they wish to settle. In Kyagwe, in Mutuba V, every *muruka* chief was found to have a foreign *musigire*. The chiefs were defensive and apologetic, but said "What are we to do? The Ganda refused the work." In Mutuba VII, Musale's *muruka*, the chief had both a Ganda and a Gishu *musigire* since he had a large Gishu community to deal with. In Busiro, the Nyamwezi *musigire* deputised for an elderly Ganda who was himself a *musigire* to an absentee landowner. The Nyamwezi called himself the *mutongole* and constantly spoke of "my land" and "my people" and of the plots that *he* would give out.

The foreign *musigire* of a *muruka* chief may achieve a lot of power. He may go to the *gombolola* council to represent his *muruka* chief and may hear disputes at court. Ganda who deny that a foreigner could ever achieve political power conveniently ignore this fact when they say "Of course he could not be a chief! He could only be a deputy."

The participation of foreigners in the deliberative and judicial machinery of the political system varies from court to court, from the informal council of arbitration held by the *mutongole* at the door of his house, to the council of the *muruka* that meets in an unpretentious wattle-and-daub hut once a week, to the statutory councils at *gombolola* and *saza* level, with their formal records and large and often imposing brick buildings.

The formal membership of *miruka* councils was fixed by a law of the Buganda Government passed in 1951 by a measure that was intended to democratise the political system.[1] For this purpose each *muruka* council was to be composed of the *muruka* chief or his deputies, landowners of different kinds, six other residents chosen by the vote of these councillors and two or three so-called "unofficial members" who are elected by the vote of "every male native over 21 who has paid three poll-taxes and three *luwalo* taxes in the *muruka* and farms his own land or plot or is otherwise in employment in the *muruka* or elsewhere."[2] Whether the term "male native" covers immigrants from other territories is not apparently clear from the definition of "native" given in the 1945 ordinance quoted on page 182. It seemed to be assumed in at least one *muruka*, however, that all plot holders whether Ganda or immigrant were allowed to cast a vote for the unofficial representatives. Thus in areas where the foreign customary tenants outnumber the Ganda ones it ought to be possible for them to secure that the unofficial members at least represented the immigrant part of the population. They could also be chosen as one of the six peasant representatives. In fact, however, this does not often happen. In eight out of twenty counties there was no foreign representation on *miruka* councils at all, and these included Buddu with its high percentage of immigrants,[1] Busiro, Singo and Gomba.[2] Immigrants were, however, well represented in Kyadondo, the *saza* round Kampala with 31·1 per cent. immigrants; Mawokota with 32·8 per cent. immigrants; and Bulemezi with 37·1 per cent. immigrants.

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[1] Law for the establishment of Lower Councils in Buganda (Legal Notice No. 112, 1951).

[2] Law for selecting unofficial representatives of the Councils, 1945 (Legal Notice No. 241, 1945).

The *miruka* councils send their chief together with a selected landowner, peasent and unofficial representative to the *gombolola* council and here again foreign members of the *muruka* council have a chance of being sent to the *gombolola*, but in fact this happens rarely. From the table on pages 185–8 it will be seen that immigrants only reach this position in six out of the twenty *sazas*. *Gombolola* councils similarly elect representatives to the *saza* and from thence to the Central Council. In one *saza* only—Kabula—did a foreigner reach the level of the *saza* council. It will be noticed also that though there may be quite a number of foreigners on the *miruka* councils of one *saza* as a whole, yet the distribution is patchy and many councils have no immigrant membership at all. Even in Kyadondo with 36 foreigners on its *miruka* councils, these are all concentrated in four *gombolola* near Kampala, and in its township.

Nevertheless, immigrants who are ambitious to play a part in local life have actually a better chance than would appear from these official figures. Some attend the statutory council meetings as deputies of their chiefs or landowners as has been mentioned earlier. In this capacity they might easily attend the *gombolola* council even if not elected members of it. Moreover, ordinary *muruka* meetings which take place weekly in the village hall have many of the characteristics of the public assembly of the old days. People attend who are not members of the statutory council and the mud and wattle halls used for the meetings have wide unglazed windows through which the public who cannot be accommodated on the floor of the building can listen and even interject remarks. During our discussions of the survey porters sometimes listened at the open windows, but this is probably unusual since Ganda specifically commented "Look at all the porters at the windows." Porters were twice definitely told not to come into the *Lukiko* but murmured through the window when they were irritated by what was going on. In three other cases foreigners asked permission to come in and speak and stood in the body of the hall to do so. Porters who were specifically questioned were surprised at the suggestion that they should regularly attend meetings. Typical answers were "I am only a porter. Why should I go?" "I am a porter, not a politician," or "These things do not concern us."

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[1] 51 per cent. in Musale *gombolola* and 47 per cent. in Mutuba VII.

[2] Mutuba II *gombolola* in Singo has 61 per cent. foreigners, Mutuba III in Busiro has 52 per cent., and Gomba as a whole has 43 per cent. foreigners.

Customary tenants of foreign origin attended meetings at which we spoke and on several occasions were treated as honoured elders who should be asked their views,[1] and immigrant plot-holders seemed to speak their minds quite freely. But this is evidently as the result of a period of apprenticeship. A Ganda said of an immigrant who had been a tenant for five years, "He could come to the meetings if he only listened." A foreigner who had been on a plot for two years said, "I would like to go if the chief asked me." No doubt the wise immigrant does not push his way into the council against the people's wishes. It is doubtful whether a foreigner in an English village would reach prominence on a parish council or a local club much more quickly. Out of 68 foreign councillors whose tribal membership is known, 33 are natives of the Uganda Protectorate including 6 Nyoro, 6 Toro, 7 Lango and 4 Teso. Of the rest 21 are from Belgian territory including 18 Ruanda; 11 are from Tanganyika and 3 from Kenya.

To conclude, it is unusually easy for foreigners to take up land and to have secure possession of land in Buganda as compared to other parts of Africa, although there is evidence that foreigners are asked to rent land rather than hold it in customary tenure, that they usually make inferior bargains both financially and as to the type of land given to them, and that there is little buying of land as yet.

Many foreigners are trying to get incorporated into Ganda society by every means in their power, including the adoption of Ganda names, the wearing of Ganda dress and sometimes by attempting to pass themselves off as members of Ganda clans. Those who wish to "become Ganda" are customary tenants who have been some years in the country and they are mainly Ruanda, Rundi or people from the east. Men from West Nile Province seem to have little ambition to settle permanently or to adopt Ganda ways.

Intermarriage is unexpectedly low between Ganda and foreigners, mainly owing to the difference in standard of living. Immigrants of different tribes are united by a network of kinship connexions spread wide over Uganda by which they pass news and get help in difficulties, secure jobs and land, and get information from their home country. Links with the home country continue for many years, even in the case of permanent settlers, and men who have been 20 to 30 years in Buganda are still returning to visit their friends or to send their children to see their homeland. As is natural in societies where status is largely based on descent, immigrants continue to be distinguished by their tribal name and place of origin even in the second generation.

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[1] For instance, in the case of Dama and Gishu settlers who had been living in Kyagwe 30 years or so.

The penetration of the political system has been a slow one in a hierarchical society with a central organisation such as that of the Ganda and where political authority is closely associated with landownership. However, the system of deputies is providing the foreigners with a means of exercising considerable executive authority, both in day-to-day life and on the councils, and their representation is increasing.

Foreigners on Councils

Saza	Gombolola membership	Total G.M.	Muruka membership	Total M.M.
Bulemezi	*Mumyuka* 2 foreigners[1] (both *miruka* chiefs)			
	Sabawali. Nil		*Muruka* 5 4 foreigners *Muruka* 10 4 foreigners	
	Musale. Nil		*Muruka* 3 1 foreigner	
	Mutuba III 1 foreigner (*muruka* chief) 3 Nubians		*Muruka* 9 1 Teso 1 Alur 1 Gishu 2 Nubians	
	Mutuba IV. Nil		*Muruka* 5 1 foreigner	
	Mutuba VI. Nil		*Muruka* 8 4 foreigners *Muruka* 9 5 foreigners	
		6		24

FOREIGNERS ON COUNCILS—*continued*

Saza	Gombolola membership	Total G.M.	Muruka membership	Total M.M.
Buruli[2]	*Sabaddu* 1 Teso 3 Lango		*Muruka membership* 2 Lango	
	Sabagabo. Nil		*Muruka membership* 1 Sukuma 5 Lango 1 Lugbara 1 Kkukku	
		4		10
Kabula[2]	Gombolola membership nil *BUT* there is one foreigner on the *Saza* Council		*Muruka membership* (*Sabaddu Gombolola*) 4 foreigners	
		0		4
Busuju[2]	*Sabagabo* 1 Toro		*Muruka membership* 2 Ruanda 1 Toro	
		1		3
Mawogola	*Sabagabo* 1 Toro		*Muruka.* Nil	
		1		0
Kyadondo	*Mumyuka.* 1 Acholi 2 Nyoro		*Muruka* 1. 1 Nyoro *Muruka* 3. 1 Kavirondo *Muruka* 4. 1 Acholi *Muruka* 5. 1 Jaluo	
	Sabagabo. Nil		*Muruka* 2. 2 Ziba 1 Ruanda *Muruka* 3. 2 Rundi *Muruka* 6. 1 Nyoro *Muruka* 9. 1 Toro	
	Sabawali. Nil		*Muruka* 4. 2 Nyoro *Muruka* 5. 1 Zinza	
	Mutuba I. Nil		*Muruka* 1. 1 Nyoro *Muruka* 3. 2 Ruanda *Muruka* 7. 1 Teso	
	Omukulu[3] *Wekibuga.* 1 Toro		*Muruka membership* 3 Toro 2 Teso 1 Jaluo 1 Congo 8 Ruanda 1 Nkole 1 Ziba 1 Kiga	
		4		36

FOREIGNERS ON COUNCILS—*continued*

Saza	Gombolola membership	Total G.M.	Muruka membership	Total M.M.
Mawokota	*Mumyuka.* Nil		*Muruka* 3. 1 Nkole *Muruka* 5. 1 Toro *Muruka* 6. 1 Nyoro	
	Sabaddu Nil		*Muruka* 5. 2 Ruanda	
	Sabagabo. Nil		*Muruka* 2. 1 Rundi	
	Musale. Nil		*Muruka* 2. 1 Ruanda *Muruka* 4. 1 Ruanda	
		0		8
Singo	*Sabawali.* Nil		*Muruka* 3. 1 Ruanda	
		0		1
Kyagwe[4]	*Sabaddu.* Nil		*Muruka membership* 1 Kavirondo 2 Ruanda 1 Ziba	
	Mutuba III. 1 Soga		*Muruka membership* 1 Ruanda 1 Dama 1 Samia 1 Soga	
	Mutuba IV. Nil		*Muruka membership* 1 Ruanda	
	Mutuba V 2 Kavirondo (1 a *Muruka* chief) 1 Ruanda		*Muruka membership* Nil	
	Mutuba VII. Nil		*Muruka membership* 1 Jaluo 2 Nyoro 3 Soga 3 Ruanda 1 Dama 2 Gishu 1 Lugbara 1 Ziba 1 Rundi 1 Kavirondo	
		4		25
Bugerere[4]	*Musale.* Nil		*Muruka membership* 3 Ruanda 1 Rundi 5 Soga 3 Kedi 1 Kakwa 1 Gishu	
		0		14

FOREIGNERS ON COUNCILS—*continued*

Saza	Gombolola membership	Total G.M.	Muruka membership	Total M.M.
Bugangazi[4]	*Sabaddu.* Nil		*Muruka membership* 1 Ruanda 1 Lugbara 1 Alur	
	Sabagabo. Nil		*Muruka membership* 2 Ruanda	
		0		5
Butambala	Nil	0	Nil	0
Buddu	Nil	0	Nil	0
Buyaga	Nil	0	Nil	0
Busiro	Nil	0	Nil	0
Buvuma	Nil	0	Nil	0
Buwekula	Nil	0	Nil	0
Gomba	Nil	0	Nil	0
Koki	Nil	0	Nil	0
Sesse	Nil	0	Nil	0

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[1] The term foreigner is used where the tribal affiliation is unknown.

[2] In these *saza* the break-up of *muruka* membership into individual *miruka* was not obtained.

[3] The *muruka* break-up for this *gombolola* was not obtained.

[4] In these *saza* the break-up of *muruka* membership into individual *miruka* was not obtained.

THE IMMIGRANTS AND THE LAW. By A. B. Mukwaya.

Since this report shows the large number of immigrants who are settling down permanently or temporarily in various parts of Buganda, and that, except in a few cases, they are settling with and among the Ganda rather than in separate villages, it is important to know whether they are living peacefully with the Ganda.

In this section an attempt is made to assess the effect of immigration on law and crime, and to determine whether the immigrants are actually more criminal than the Ganda as has been asserted by some of the Ganda informants. Some of the general assertions made and opinions expressed were:—

(*a*) the immigrants are ignorant of Ganda law and custom: that is why they tend to be more criminal than the Ganda;

(*b*) the immigrants do not accept the arbitration of the *miruka* and *batongole* chiefs and therefore appear more in the Criminal Cases Registers of the statutory courts than the Ganda do;

(*c*) the immigrant has no stake in the country, especially if he holds no land;

(*d*) the foreigners cannot get enough food because they have no land and therefore they steal.

Some of the informants also made statements about the different tribes saying for instance:

(*e*) the Alur and Lugbara are naturally violent;

(*f*) the Gishu are habitual thieves. (*Cf.* p. 166.)

To make a comparison of the incidence of crime among the Ganda and the immigrants, the Criminal Cases Registers of two of the sample *gombolola* were analysed for the years 1948 and 1950. The table below shows the number and the nature of criminal cases in which the Ganda and the immigrants were respectively involved in the two years.

	1948		1950	
	Ganda	Immigrants	Ganda	Immigrants
Mumyuka, Busiro				
Violence	18	14	25	17
Theft	14	28	23	13
Other cases	59	18	60	17
Total	91	60	108	47
Mutuba VII, Kyagwe				
Violence	14	26	16	20
Theft	12	45	9	45
Other cases	55	25	73	75
Total	81	96	98	140

The above table shows that in 1948 in the *gombolola* of Mumyuka of Busiro the immigrants were involved in 60 criminal cases, 39·8 per cent. of the total. But the male population of all ages was, according to the 1948 Census, 7,691 Ganda and 3,672 other tribes. That is to say the immigrants formed 32·3 per cent. of the male population of the *gombolola*. It means, therefore, that 32·3 per cent. of the population was responsible for 39·8 per cent. of the cases. In other words, among the immigrants out of every 1,000 male persons 21 persons were involved in criminal cases; whereas among the Ganda the comparable figure was 12 persons out of every

1,000. Similarly in the *gombolola* of Mutuba VII of Kyagwe where, according to the census, the male population of all ages included 3,810 Ganda and 8,591 other tribes, the immigrants were responsible for 54·2 per cent. of the cases. That is, out of every 1,000 male persons 21 among the Ganda and 11 among the immigrants were involved in criminal cases.

But since the age compositions of the two sections of the population are different, the above figures are not strictly comparable because there is a higher proportion of young men in the immigrant population than in the indigenous one. A more accurate picture of the position would therefore be given by comparison of the incidence of crime on the basis of the tax-paying population of the two groups since these are entirely composed of able-bodied men.

If we make use of the tax register figures for the year 1950 as the basis of comparison we get the following results. In the *gombolola* of Mumyuka of Busiro in 1950, the tax-paying population was 3,679 Ganda and 1,224 other tribes. This means that for every 1,000 tax-payers there were 29 criminal cases among the Ganda and 38 cases among the immigrants. And in the *gombolola* of Mutuba VII of Kyagwe where in 1950 the tax-payers consisted of 1,420 Ganda and 1,704 other tribes we find that there were 69 criminal cases among the Ganda and 82 cases among the immigrants for every 1,000 tax-payers.

The above table shows further that, relative to the population, there were more criminal cases in the *gombolola* of Mutuba VII of Kyagwe than there were in that of Mumyuka of Busiro. This is explained by the differences between the populations of the two *gombolola*. The *gombolola* of Mumyuka of Busiro is an old settled area without big non-African plantations or industries; while that of Mutuba VII of Kyagwe has a big sugar plantation and a number of tea and coffee estates where many immigrants are employed. There is also Lugazi, a growing town with a floating population which is mainly immigrant and dependent on casual labour or on petty trade with the employees of the plantations. In fact the *gombolola* has for some time enjoyed the reputation of being one of the sub-counties with the greatest number of criminals.

The table shows also that the immigrants are, relative to their numbers, responsible for more cases of violence and theft. In fact the excess of this type of case is absolute except in the *gombolola* of Mumyuka of Busiro for the year 1950. There is some justification, therefore, for the statement that the immigrants tend to be more violent and thieve more than the Ganda.

But the main generalisation that can be made about these figures is that though the incidence of crime was relatively greater among the immigrants than among the Ganda, there is nothing to show that the immigrants are either breaking the law excessively or are unduly disturbing the peace of the country. In fact, most of the informants are agreed that the more settled elements among the immigrants live peacefully with the Ganda and tend to adopt their codes of behaviour.

Again, there is no evidence to show that the immigrants are not receiving fair treatment in the Buganda Courts. In no case was a complaint made by an immigrant voluntarily or on questioning about the Buganda Courts as Courts. And most of the informants who are immigrants stated that they lived peacefully with the Ganda who treated them well.

Of particular interest to this survey are cases concerning labour and wages, cases concerning land, and those concerning women.

In the two *gombolola* and in the two years there were only three cases concerning wages, and in none of them was an immigrant involved. The reason for this is that failure to pay a labourer his wages is a criminal offence for which a man is liable for imprisonment or a fine or both. It was emphasised by all the informants that cases of this nature are dealt with promptly, or else, if the labourer reports to the Labour Office, the *gombolola* chief himself may find himself in trouble. This explains why cases of this nature are rare.

Similarly there were only four cases concerning peasant holdings (*bibanja*). This, I believe, reflects fairly accurately the present position. For, in the first place, it is still easy for a peasant to get a reasonable holding of good soil and adequate size in any village he chooses, or in the next village. Where the demand is great the only effect has so far been the attempt on the part of landowners or their stewards to ask for and to receive initial payments of varying amounts. (*Cf.* p. 129.) Secondly, the "*Busulu* and *Envujo* Law, 1927," as enacted and as interpreted by the Courts, has been so successful in preserving the rights of the peasant holders that it is rare for a landowner to evict a tenant, because he is not sure of doing it successfully. Even in the *saza* of Kyadondo where the greater demand for holdings is reflected in a higher percentage of cases over these holdings, most of the cases are disputes over the boundaries of the holdings and not cases of eviction.

The absence of cases concerning women is more difficult to explain in view of the very high sex ratio of the immigrant men to immigrant women. In the registers analysed there were only seven cases of this nature and the immigrants were involved in three of them. We may only suppose that either there is an excess of unmarried women among the Ganda or that the social and economic position of the immigrants is such that they do not enter into competition for the Ganda women. (*Cf.* pp. 176–7.) Certainly no strong opinions were expressed on this question.

We can therefore conclude that the immigrants are generally settling and living peacefully with and among the Ganda. Many of them are adapting themselves successfully and are becoming in many ways indistinguishable from the Ganda. And we can adduce three sets of factors to explain this state of affairs.

Firstly, the laws of the Protectorate are definite on this question of immigrants living in Buganda. An immigrant is subject to the local chiefs and the Buganda Courts as soon as he arrives in the country. This is because every native is subject to the local authorities and the term "native" as defined by the Protectorate Ordinance includes any person whose tribe is a tribe of the Sudan, the Belgian Congo or Ruanda-Urundi, the Protectorate or the Colony of Kenya, the Tanganyika Territory, Nyasaland, and includes a Swahili.

Secondly, as has been stated above, there is no evidence of immigrants of one tribe or related tribes settling in compact groups or villages of their own, except in the case of the West Nile people. Those who are settling are living in Ganda villages. This means that the social sanctions operative in Ganda society are bound in time to dominate the behaviour of the different individuals of unrelated tribal groups.

Thirdly, the nature of the Ganda society is such that it is capable of absorbing great numbers of immigrants without undue dislocation of the social structure. As is well known, the Ganda live in a society in which allegiance is primarily owed, not to a clan or to a head of a family, but to a chief who is a political nominee of the *Kabaka*. A Ganda belongs to the chief, whoever the chief may be at the time. The landowner receives an allegiance very similar to that given to the politically appointed chiefs of the past. Therefore if the relationship of most of the Ganda in the village is that of tenants to the landlord, as it is in most of the villages, it is easy for an immigrant after a short time of adaptation to assume the same relationship and to conform to recognised patterns of behaviour. It is significant that many of the landlords asked about the behaviour of the immigrants as tenants admitted that most of them were better tenants than the Ganda themselves. "They are obedient, they are helpful, and they pay the rents and other dues promptly."

From the point of view of law and crime, this form of personal allegiance and of social conformity are very important in present Ganda society where law is mainly tribal custom and where the lowest administrative officer (the *muruka* chief) has no other means of enforcing law or administrative orders except by his personality or by his position as a landowner in the area or as steward (*musigire*) of a big landlord.

In fact it is not only the stability of the society that is dependent on the landowner or his steward. In order to keep law and order in the country, the Government is dependent on him to an extent greater than is often admitted. The landowner keeps peace in his area and will arbitrate between his tenants in all the petty cases. The *muruka* chief who is usually a landowner or the steward of a landowner considers it his duty and right to arbitrate in all cases. It is only when the case is considered serious, or if the complainants will not accept the *muruka* chief's decision, that it is taken to the *gombolola* Court, which is the lowest officially constituted court in the country. Consequently many petty cases do not appear in the Court Registers.

This relic of an ancient juridical system therefore ensures that the immigrant learns to adapt himself to the society without being subjected to undue legal and penal sanctions. In the last resort law and order is dependent on tradition, custom and social conformity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PROBLEM FOR BUGANDA

A. I. RICHARDS

GANDA VIEWS ON IMMIGRANT PROBLEMS.

There is no doubt that Ganda cultivators are much concerned about the immigrant question. At all the council meetings attended there were complaints, and very often very vigorous complaints, as to the shortage of labour, and the most frequent question the investigators had to answer was whether the Institute would be able to provide more porters, or to tell the Government how many porters were needed. Farmers working large estates themselves naturally felt the need of labourers most keenly. It is clear that many intelligent landowners are realising that the renting of land to customary tenants does not provide them with such a good income as a large-scale farm of their own, such as some of the twenty-acre farms of Kyagwe and Bulemezi or the even larger estates of sixty or more acres farmed by single owners in Buddu.[1] Thus, on the whole, the progressive and ambitious farmers were the most clamorous in their demands for labour and were anxious to display to us unweeded coffee gardens and cotton patches. But the smaller landowner or tenant with a holding of five to ten acres also feels that he needs some porter labour and many Ganda maintain that even the tenant with a three-acre plot needs some outside help, at any rate during the busy season of the year, if the land is to be used to the best advantage.

Ganda have often complained of shortage of labour, as Powesland's account shows, but the most recent fall-off in the supply of porters was generally said to date from 1947–49. In fact, the numbers of immigrants that are recorded as entering the country from 1947 to 1951 by the South-West Route shows that the first significant fall in numbers was in 1948 when the figure fell from 109,306 to 88,518. There was an increase to 110,897 in 1949 to be followed by a fall in 1950 to 70,725 and a slight rise in 1951 to 86,232. (*Cf.* Appendix A.)

In Council meetings the scarcity was accounted for in a number of ways:—

(*a*) *Fewer porters in the country.* Several men asked querulously why Ruanda and Rundi refused to come and at least two thought that the Government of Uganda was stopping them.

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[1] Figures showing the number of landowners farming their own estates are given on pages 210–11.

(*b*) *Porters stolen by non-African enterprises.* Many peasants believe that foreign labour exists but it is being taken away from them unfairly by European and Asian estates who are all allowed, according to current belief, to recruit their own labour. This is a travesty of the facts since very few companies actually recruit, and plantations are themselves short of labour. It is reckoned, in fact, that only 13 out of every 1,000 immigrants entering the country find their way to the sugar estates. But Ganda can see the lorries filled with contract labourers driving down the main road from Masaka to Kampala and on to Lugazi. They cannot see the stream of men making their way, mostly on foot, to the Owen Falls construction camp at Jinja, and therefore do not seem to feel the new industrial developments beginning in Buganda as threatening their interests in the same way. Ganda farmers have been asking since at least 1938 to be allowed to recruit their own labour[1] and they are jealous of the few non-African companies that are allowed to do so. As is natural, these peasants, although shrewd in the management of their own affairs, have little or no conception of the economic welfare of the country as a whole. The suggestion that there would be no sugar for anyone's tea if the sugar estates were short of labour came as a shock of surprise to two Council meetings. The speaker who made this statement was afterwards congratulated as on a clever and novel debating point. One comment was "You made us all laugh. We had never thought of that before—that about the sugar."

(*c*) *Porters badly distributed.* Other peasants complained that porters existed, but that they did not reach the distant villages. They made statements such as "The big roads take them elsewhere," "They come out of the west in a stream and they settle like grasshoppers on the near places. They don't come far east." (i.e. to Kyagwe).

(*d*) *Porters too expensive and too idle.* In some districts we were told that labour was available but that it was too expensive. This was especially the case in Busiro where wages stood at Shs. 33 to Shs. 35 a month as against the Government minimum of Shs. 33 (in 1950) for unskilled labour in the nearby town of Kampala. Poorer peasants said they could only afford Shs. 20 a month and that "now only a rich man can have porters." Cases were given of foreigners banding together to stand out for higher wages, an action that seems outrageous to people who have only half abandoned a more feudal concept of service. They also complained of the type of labour they got. Immigrants were refusing to work by the month, but would only do odd jobs. Such labourers no doubt work in a hurried fashion and may well be tired at the end of the day. Even in the case of regular porters Ganda employers evidently feel impotent over the problems of getting more work out of their labour. They envied the more rigid organisation of labour achieved on non-African estates, and one man complained that employers of contract labour on plantations were protected when their workers did badly, but African employers had no such rights.[1] Another farmer said "If you visit our cotton plots you will see some people working hard and some not at all. This is not right." We were told in one area that there should be a law "to force porters to work properly" or "to standardise the porters' tasks."

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[1] *Cf.* Elliot Report, para 107.

(*e*) *Porters taking up land.* Ganda peasants are, however, clearly aware that the greatest single cause of labour scarcity is the high rate of settlement of the immigrants on holdings of their own. They oppose this on two grounds—first, that immigrants who have taken up land are unwilling after a year or so to work as labourers; and second, that their continued settlement will lessen the amount of land available for the Ganda. Hence the constant use of such phrases as "These people are eating us up," They are taking plot after plot," "They are cleverer than the Ganda. They come as porters and then they ask to rent land seasonally and then they take up customary plots. They band together to tell their friends not to work as porters but to ask for plots." There were complaints, especially in Buddu, that foreigners were getting too rich. One Ganda said frankly that "The foreigners work harder than we do. They work evening as well as morning and they get rich." And another said "When we give them a plot they bring their relatives who also ask for a plot. They work so hard that they get richer than we do and the Ganda have nowhere to live. Besides, they don't cultivate properly like we do. They don't weed like the Ganda do."

But on the general question of settlement the Ganda are split amongst themselves and cannot speak with a single voice. Landowners on large estates want foreigners in great numbers as porters. Nevertheless, they tend to give out plots to tempt foreigners to stay and work for them. Moreover, the less the Ganda are willing to perform customary services for them, the more they hope that foreigners will help in this respect. Chiefs and landowners may share the universal scorn for "the dirty foreigner," yet they admit that many immigrant settlers have put waste land under cultivation, have raised the tax revenue of particular districts and form a body of dutiful citizens who do more than their share of communal work. Landowners who are not trying to farm big plots in a modern way, or who cannot get porters to help them to do so, naturally like to make as much as they can out of tenants and, as has been said, they get more out of foreign tenants than out of Ganda.

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[1] Penal sanctions for labour contracts are, as a matter of fact, not enforced in Uganda, and non-African employers make similar complaints about the inefficiency of their labour.

On the other hand, peasants, and especially those who cannot afford porters, look askance at foreigners who seem to acquire the status of customary tenant so easily and they criticise the landlords for lining their own pockets at the expense of their fellow tribesmen. They point out that many foreigners do not even pay tax but "cleverly" send the money back to their own district where tax rates may be cheaper, e.g. Ankole. The peasants feel that foreigners should come as porters and not as settlers. In nearly every council visited complaints were made as to the number of porters who were being given customary plots, even in such outspoken terms as "The landlords are giving the land away and the peasants are not represented on the councils and they cannot speak," or "The landlords are selling land for as much as Shs. 600 and their deputies are giving away land to their own relatives." Some went as far as to demand the complete expulsion of the foreigners in such terms as "The plots should be taken away from foreigners," "The people who brought in the foreigners must send them back to the land where they came from," "They should all be chased away." One or two landlords spoke in favour of settlement in such phrases as "If your land is empty you cannot refuse to give it to a cultivator," or "These men ought to be allowed to stay in peace." However, there are signs that landowners are beginning to realise that they are becoming unpopular by renting land to immigrants. A few are refusing to give out plots to foreigners and others make a great play of the fact that they are only renting land in seasonal and not customary tenure.[1]

It is this conflict of interest between landowner and tenant which has prevented the Ganda from taking any effective action on the immigrant problem for the last twenty years or so, during which time numerous articles have appeared in the African press. The remedies the Ganda suggested to us are as follows:

(1) *Legislation.* Like other industrialists and farmers who are pressed for labour the Ganda feel that legislation should be passed to improve their position; and like other African people who are new to the modern system of legislation, they have unbounded optimism about the effects of "making a law." This is especially

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[1] One such man who was vehement in opposing settlement by foreigners in a council meeting, had given out a plot to a Ruanda two months previously and another, equally vociferous, had no more land to give!

so in the case of the "unofficial" (elected) members of councils who will in no case have to enforce the laws passed.

The following suggestions were made to us:

(*a*) that there must be a law that porters should scatter evenly over the country;

(*b*) that porters should be forced to work, or that they be "made" to come from Ruanda-Urundi;

(*c*) that a law be passed to send immigrants back to the land they came from;

(*d*) that there should be a law that the immigrants must be porters and not tenants;

(*e*) that a law be passed to stop landowners leasing plots to foreigners.

The resolution for legislation actually passed by the Central Council is of a very much more moderate character, probably owing to the conflict of views described above. It deals only with the sale of land and not its lease, and reads "that the Land Law of 1908 should be amended so that where it reads "The landlord will be permitted to sell land to any native of the Protectorate" it should now read "The landlord will not be permitted to sell land to anyone other than a Muganda."[1]

(2) *Direct intervention by the Uganda Government.* Several speakers said that the only way out was "to be mechanised by the Government," but had apparently little clear idea of the process involved. Such people thought that England had been "mechanised" in the same way. Another asked for "Government lorries" to bring porters to the villages.

(3) *A change in Ganda working habits.* Two speakers suggested that the Ganda should work harder themselves. One was an old man who said "In the past the Ganda grew cotton without porters so that they can do it again." The other, a younger man, said rather sententiously "No man was born to work for others. Even in England foreigners don't go to work on the people's plots. As the Ganda are under the English Government and have the same aims, the immigrants should be evicted and the Ganda should be taught to work for themselves." However, the more common point of view was that expressed by a *muruka* chief in Kyagwe who said "Of course, the Ganda know how to look after cattle, but if they can get others to do it for them, surely it is God's blessing to them?"

The suggestion that poorer Ganda should work for richer landowners was never accepted as a possibility although apparently as late as 1923 this was actually happening. In Buddu the members of the council admitted that some porters got more money than some plot-holders, but they added that a Ganda could not go out and work for another Ganda for fear he would lose his plot, and then added "He could go out and work as a carpenter or a builder but he could not go out and dig for one of his own people."

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[1] Resolution No. 11, "The Land Law, 1908," December, 1951.

These complex attitudes were reflected in the comments expressed in answer to the village questionnaire in which a question on the subject was included. In Busiro, an area where the hostility seemed to be at its minimum, 9 out of 21 men questioned as to whether they wanted immigrants there, thought the foreigners should only stay as porters and not be given plots, 3 said it depended on the type of immigrant, some were good and some bad; 5 said that anyhow foreigners should not be allowed to buy land; one said he liked immigrants just to work for their food and 5 said they were not interested. In Kyagwe, in Lugala, out of 40 men questioned, 14 were quite friendly, 16 declared that they only wanted to have foreigners as porters and 10 either did not know or hadn't considered the question, making such remarks as "These are matters for the Government," or "It is up to the Kabaka to do what he likes." In Buddu, out of 57 men questioned, 10 were friendly to the porters, 11 wanted them taken away, 25 wanted them to stay as porters but not to settle, while 11 did not know their own mind. Among the tolerant there were remarks such as "Let them stay. There are no Ganda left," and among the hostile remarks were "I would not allow one to come into my house," or "This land is Buganda and I am a Ganda. They should be sent back to their own country." It is interesting that this man stated elsewhere that he urgently needed six porters! In Buddu the hostility was greatest. Those that disliked the porters said "I am afraid they will rule us in future," or "They are taking our country and the Government gets their taxes, not us," or "They are more numerous than we are. I want to keep the land for my own family," or "They steal and murder by spearing," or "They set fire to our houses and fight us."

It was noteworthy that the foreigners very rarely expressed hostility towards the Ganda, partly, no doubt, through fear of being turned out of their plots. In Seseriba out of 10 porters asked, 4 said they had "become" Ganda, 3 liked the work in Buganda and 2 did not like the Ganda. One of these still meant to come back for a second trip. In Lugala, out of 40 immigrants questioned, 30 liked the country and said they lived well with the Ganda and 6 said they had "become" Ganda, while one disliked them and 3 did not know what to reply. In Buddu, out of 73 questioned, 51 said they lived well with the Ganda, 6 wanted to become Ganda, 6 disliked it and wanted to go back, and 10 didn't know what to reply.

Among the answers given by porters in Buddu were such rather negative ones as "I like it here. No-one beats me. No-one abuses me," or "Anyone with strength will find his employer is a good man," or "Everyone is good. Each man should like his fellow." Among the less enthusiastic ones were "Buganda is better, but the people of Buganda are not better," or "The Ganda have more money but everyone likes his own home." Perhaps the most spirited reply made by an immigrant was a letter written recently to the *Uganda Herald* in which a man who signed himself "Munyaruanda" protested against the common statement by Ganda that the Government was taking the money "earned" by the sweat of their brows and pointed out that it was, after all, the sweat of Ruanda brows that was in question! Such an openly expressed statement seemed to us unusual.

To conclude, this tension does not seem to be marked in the case of the old settled areas or where the immigrants have been long in residence, as for instance, in the case of Dama or Gishu settled since 1917 on unwanted land in Kyagwe. It appears to be quite pronounced not only where the proportion of immigrants is higher but where there are unusual opportunities of making money. The Ganda peasant in Busiro on a two- or three-acre plot earning a bare living did not seem to be envious of his immigrant neighbour living under similar conditions, but the wealthy Ganda farmer in Buddu was indignant that an immigrant who had secured a large plot should have enough money to buy himself a motor-cycle or even a motor lorry. Examples of such openly expressed antagonisms are given in Chapter XI.

The foreigners in districts where there was obvious tension often showed great apprehension and we were asked if "the Government" meant to send them back to their countries or whether they would be turned off their land. Immigrants also stood up in council meetings and asked what they had done to harm the Ganda? Had they broken any laws? Had they refused to pay their dues or to do their communal work? Some said they had worked hard to break up unwanted land and asked why they should now be threatened when they had established themselves successfully on plots. This is the voice of the Indian in Natal or the Chinese in Malaya, or of any other immigrant group that has entered a country in poverty and now become so prosperous as to be considered a menace by the local inhabitants. The cry is the same, "You allowed us in to do work you did not want to do. Now we have made good and you want to turn us out."

SOME POSSIBLE CHANGES IN THE EMPLOYMENT OF IMMIGRANTS IN BUGANDA IN AGRICULTURE.

To conclude this report it is tempting to try to estimate the contribution which foreign labour has made to the economy of Buganda as a whole, and to consider how far this dependence on immigrant workers is likely to be permanent.

As far as the cotton industry is concerned, it is not easy to show whether the total acreage of cotton planted depends directly on the presence or absence of foreign labourers. It is often assumed that the correlation is a simple one—fewer porters, less cotton. General statements to this effect have, in fact, been made in the past. Powesland quotes a 1932 Agricultural report to the effect that the standard of cultivation had gone down in that year owing to the expense of employing immigrant labour; wages had fallen but they were high in relation to the depressed cotton prices of that year. The Uganda Cotton Commission of 1938 claimed that the reduction in the price of cotton in that year materially reduced the amount of labour hired, with a corresponding reduction in the area cultivated."[1] In view of such statements it would have been interesting to obtain some measure of the relation between cotton production and the size of the immigrant labour force.

This it has been impossible to do, partly because the migration statistics are inadequate in that they do not show the number of migrants employed exclusively in the cotton industry. Nor do they, of course, indicate the average length of stay of an immigrant in the country, or show what proportion of those counted as "immigrants" or "emigrants" are merely men and women going on short visits to one or the other side of the border and not, therefore, to be counted as workers at all.

There is the further fact that it has always been impossible to control all the byways which may be used by the travellers and particularly by those from Ruanda-Urundi. The West Nile figures are more accurate since the great majority of the travellers pass through the port of Butiaba, but against this must be set the fact that migrants entering Buganda from the Eastern Province, Bunyoro and Ankole, areas which provide important supplementary supplies of labour for cotton growing, often fail to be counted at all because of the varied routes which they follow. To add to the difficulties, the figures for Ruanda migration from year to year are often impossible to compare, owing to the changes which have been made from time to time in the methods of obtaining the figures (*cf.* Appendix A).

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[1] *Op cit.*, para. 80, *cf. supra.* p. 48.

Moreover, it is evident that even were the numbers of immigrant workers accurately known from year to year, both the acreage of cotton and the yield per acre depend on a number of other variables besides the size of the labour force. The weather at all stages of the growth of the cotton plant is, of course, an important determinant of yields per acre.

The yield per acre can also be raised by improved methods of cultivation such as a proper use of grass leys for resting, soil conservation and the use of cattle manure.[1] Early planting, that is to say mid-June to mid-July as distinct from late sowing in August and September, also has pronounced effects. In the central part of Buganda delayed planting means usually the same acreage grown but less early cotton and more late cotton. This has the effect of reducing the yield per acre. On marginal land on the fringes of the cotton area there is, however, less early cotton with delayed planting and no more late cotton, so that the total acreage sown is reduced.[2] For all these reasons vigorous propaganda has been shown to improve cotton production apparently irrespective of the amount of labour employed. For instance, the large-scale propaganda carried out in 1948 by the Department of Agriculture in conjunction with the administrative officers, together with a bonus on production handed over to the Buganda local government, seems to have been responsible for the considerable jump in the cotton production of that year, although it will be seen from Table I above that the numbers of immigrants were actually lower that year than during 1947.

TABLE I

Buganda	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
Cotton acreages	420,953	305,663	476,710	527,897	508,134	416,481
Number of immigrants by South-West Route . .	138,130	109,306	88,518	110,897	70,725	86,232

Another factor affecting cotton production appears to be the method of announcing the price for the current year, since a high price declared before planting has begun encourages the peasant to put a higher acreage under cultivation. Recent policy has been to publish a guaranteed minimum price before planting, with a proviso that this price may or may not be increased later in the season.

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[1] For instance, some plots attached to Kawanda Research Station are producing 1,000 or more pounds per acre as against the 450 which is given as the average figure for Buganda as a whole.

[2] *Cf.* J. D. Jameson (Department of Agriculture, Uganda), Record of Investigation I, p. 3, 1950.

The relation of cotton prices to those of other crops is also a factor that weighs with the Ganda cultivator. The price of coffee has recently increased much more rapidly than that of cotton and since the former requires less labour it is not surprising that in some areas specially suited to coffee cultivation—notably Buddu—this crop bids fair to oust cotton.[1] The influence of the prices of alternative crops in comparison with cotton was also clearly seen during the 1939–45 war, when many Ganda turned over from their main cash crop to the cultivation of maize, groundnuts, simsim or soya beans for which fixed and guaranteed prices were offered under the war-time control regulations.

In view of the number of variables at work there is no reason to expect that even if detailed and accurate migration statistics were available, it would ever be justifiable to correlate immigration figures with crop yields directly.[2]

There is also the fact, which a number of chiefs have pointed out to us, that, if the price of cotton is high, more immigrants tend to wish to grow it on their own account, especially those coming from the north to rent plots of land for the season. Thus, although individual Ganda farmers may be hampered by lack of labour, yet the acreage of cotton grown may not be seriously affected in some areas. In this case it would merely be the proportion of the cotton crop grown by Ganda as against that grown by immigrants that would be altered.

The question is, of course, rather different if looked at from the point of view of the Ganda farmer. His fortunes may be directly affected by a sudden fall in the amount of labour available to him, either by a reduction in the number of immigrants or by the desire of these foreigners to take up land and cultivate it for themselves, rather than continue to work as agricultural labourers. There is no doubt that with his present habits of work and methods of cultivation the Ganda considers that he needs additional labour with a plot of 3 to 5 acres and experienced chiefs usually give the figure at 3 rather than 5. Without this, there seems to be a tendency to reduce acreage, or to reduce yield per acre by failure to weed sufficiently or to plant the seedlings close enough together.[1] The owner of a 2 to 3 acre plot would presumably be able to do without paid labour except possibly for certain seasons of the year; while the bigger farmer would, of course, need more outside help.

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[1] Cotton is estimated to need 140 man-days an acre and coffee 80 man-days. (Figure given us by Mr. Brown, Provincial Agricultural Officer, Buganda.)

[2] This material on the relation between immigration and cotton production is condensed from two drafts prepared by Major Edwards of the Department of Agriculture and by Mr. Powesland. Mr. Jameson, Senior Research Officer, Kawanda Research Station, also made some useful comments.

Since the Ganda feel themselves to be in a precarious position if their fortunes depend on a foreign labour supply, it is worth asking whether they could do without this help if they made any changes in their methods of work. Europeans are often impatient at the Ganda demand for paid labourers. They describe them as being "lazier" than other tribes and feel that they ought to work as many hours, as, for instance, the Kiga or the immigrants from Ruanda themselves. It must be pointed out however that the Ganda have reached a far higher standard of living and of education than have other tribes in the Protectorate and that it is rare to find Africans passing out of the subsistence farm level without either the use of additional labour; the introduction of the plough, which is not a practical proposition in Buganda; or by the maintenance of a large family unit, which is not a feature of Ganda social structure at the moment.

Nevertheless, it is possible that the Ganda could achieve more than they do by working longer hours. They certainly do less than is common in some parts of Africa.[2] The householders in the survey villages, for instance, said that they worked on an average the hours given in the table below. No check was made on their statements, and the sample is a small one, but nevertheless the differences in the hours worked by the Ganda and by immigrants is probably significant and we were constantly told that very few Ganda now work in the afternoon whereas formerly they reckoned to do a period of work in the early morning and another in the afternoon.

TABLE II

Village	No. of Ganda farmers	Ave. hrs. per day	No. of immigrant farmers	Ave. hrs. per day	No. of porters	Ave. hrs. per day
Seseriba	17	3·8	11	5	—	—
Musisi	11	4·6	26	5·3	—	—
Luwoko, etc. ..	32	4·5	27	4·6	31	5·3

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[1] Agricultural experts tend to give similar figures although stressing the fact that more skilful cultivation could increase the yield on smaller sized plots. The prosperous cultivators on 5-acre plots of Crown land near Kawanda apparently mostly use additional labour.

[2] The Alur described by Southall also worked 3 hours a day on cotton cultivation in Buganda.

The Ganda are ready to admit in open council that the foreigners work harder than they do. They sometimes do so laughingly, sometimes ruefully, but without apparent embarrassment, since, whatever Europeans may think, *kudos* is obtained in the local community by the employer of a porter. It is of interest that foreigners who have been settled for some time in the country begin to adopt Ganda hours of work. It is part of the process known as "becoming a Ganda."[1] There may also be climatic and dietetic factors involved in the shorter working day followed in South Uganda as compared to that of the grain-eating Kiga living in higher altitudes.

Another question of interest is whether the Ganda cultivator could use labour less wastefully. It was found in the village surveys that the distribution of labourers was very irregular. In Seseriba, for instance, there were only three men who had two whole-time porters and these men had four, five and eight acres respectively. In Lugala there were six landowners who had porters. Of these men, two, owning four and five acres respectively, had one porter each, while three, with four, five and fifty acres respectively, also had two porters each. In the Buddu villages, the landowners who employed one porter each had five, six, seven, ten, twelve and fifteen acres respectively, while a landowner with three porters had forty acres and one with four had twenty acres. The distribution seems to be a matter of money, luck and the personality of the employer, and it is possible to find a farmer with a large plot lamenting his overgrown coffee garden, while one with a small plot has a whole-time porter. It would be difficult, however, to arrange more even distribution with any form of labour depending so closely on personal relations and personal choice. Time is also wasted looking for porters at bus stops and elsewhere and many fruitless journeys are no doubt made in this way.

Better supervision of labour would no doubt produce returns. Ganda employers, as has been seen, complain that they are getting very poor quality of work. This apparently is due to the fact that they have inherited from the old days a high standard of expectation of subservient behaviour from their porters and these are standards which cannot be exacted at a time when labour knows itself to be at a premium and can get what it wants. But it is also true that immigrants do work short hours for the money and Ganda lack knowledge of how to improve these conditions, and few of them are "costing" their labour charges. It was noticeable that the most efficient employers had had experience as foremen on European estates. Lastly, there is probably a failure to recognise that the farmer loses a good deal of service by refusing to feed his labour, so that the porter has to go to work for his food elsewhere. While this method suits the smaller plot-holder who does not need whole-time service, it must be inefficient in the case of the larger farmers.

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[1] Mr. Wrigley of the Agricultural Department disagrees with these estimates and considers that the Ganda work much harder than the Soga who practice polygamy more largely and rely more on the labour of their wives.

Another difficulty to the Ganda is, of course, the small size of the family unit. Each peasant lives in an individual homestead, inhabited by the man, his wife and their small children. The co-operative work done in the larger kinship units, such as are found amongst the Teso, the Alur or the Southern Bantu, does not exist. Added to this, the Ganda fertility rate seems to be considerably lower than that of surrounding tribes, according to the 1948 census. The rate of break-up of marriage is high, and in these circumstances children tend to be sent to different relatives to be brought up and do not seem to be regular members of one household in the same sense that they are in some parts of Africa. The high store set on education also means that many adolescent boys and girls are absent at school. We do not pretend to have done an intensive study of the family unit in Buganda, but our surface impressions were that it was rare to find husband and wife receiving help in cultivation from growing boys and girls, such as would be the practice in most peasant communities in Europe, let alone Africa. Furthermore, the common Bantu custom of organising working bees, by which the farmer brews beer or gives some other form of entertainment for friends or relatives who come and help him to do heavy work, does not appear to exist in this area.[1] Ganda comment that things are easier for the foreign settlers because they have more children and because kinsmen live together, but, surprisingly enough, they hardly ever seem to emulate this type of family co-operation or the working pattern of other African peoples, although the peasant custom of working for the landlord at certain periods of the year in the old days might easily have formed a basis for similar co-operation in the case of all the plots on the estate. However, it is interesting that in the Buddu area, at Kyamulibwa, the centre of Abalime Ltd. Cooperative Society, joint work of this kind has recently been reported. In this instance, a group of men reacted to the high wages demanded by porters by deciding to do their own work by means of a team which would clear the ground for individual members in turn. It is not clear whether this arrangement will be permanent.

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[1] Communal labour on roads and other enterprises of public concern—the *bulungi bwansi* obligations—are still carried out with better or less grace in most villages. (*Bulungi bwansi* = the good of the land.)

The new co-operative societies which are developing in Buganda may, of course, achieve a more economic use of labour and they have certainly increased very rapidly of recent years.[1] But they are mostly selling agencies or credit societies at the present time. The Ganda themselves do not think it likely that their own compatriots will work for them as agricultural labourers, though they are reported to have worked in this way sometimes during times of depression. At present there is no real shortage of land for the Ganda. A young man feels he needs a customary plot in order to marry and set up house. His ultimate ambition is to buy a plot for himself later in life, but in the meantime he can get a customary plot for a very small sum. Once he has a plot of this sort, he must occupy it, according to customary tenure, or it will be taken back by the landowner. Hence his unwillingness to leave his own plot to engage in wage labour. Besides this, most Ganda feel that they would suffer in prestige if working as agricultural labourers for one of their fellows, although this does not apply to work done as craftsmen.[2] It is probable, however, that a young Ganda would take work for wages on a farm belonging to his father or a relative, or even an outside employer if he were put in charge of a tractor or some other machine or set to organise labour. Some, in fact, are known to do so.

Finally there remains the question of whether increased mechanisation of farming would give the Ganda peasant or farmer the same or a higher standard of living without recourse to foreign labour—a lively hope on the part of some Ganda. (*Cf.* pp. 198, 226, 238.)

Experiments in the mechanisation of cultivation began in 1947 when the Department of Agriculture introduced contract units at Kawanda and Bukalasa. Provision was made for the hire of tractors to Ganda farmers at subsidised rates. These experiments, chiefly in the use of tractors for the ploughing up of new land, seem to have caught the imagination of the farmers and progress appears to have been rapid. There are now 16 tractors with ancillary equipment divided into 4 units and working in South Kyagwe, Bulemezi, Kyadondo and Teso. By 1950, 109 farmers in South Kyagwe had applied for the hire of tractors, 53 of these on 2·6 acre plots and 56 on 4·1 acre plots; and 78 farmers in Kyadondo had also hired tractors, 34 of them on 6·3 acre plots and 44 on 4·9 acre plots.

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[1] The total number of marketing societies registered in 1948 was 16; in 1949, 138; in 1950, 252; in 1951, 377; in 1952 (half-year), 466. The growth of members has been from 47 in 1947 to 44,081 in June, 1952. (Commission of Inquiry into the Progress of the Co-operative Movement in Mengo, Masaka and Busoga Districts, Uganda, 1952.)

[2] Ganda rarely do domestic service for Europeans.

By 1950 also 6 farmers had bought their own tractors and 1 of them was using his tractor to hire to surrounding peasants.

At present mechanisation does not of course do away with the need for all labour. In fact it is more useful for the planting of maize or sweet potatoes than for the staple crops of cotton and coffee. This is because equipment so far only exists for the clearing of land. Apparatus for weeding crops is being tried. As yet there is nothing satisfactory for the harvesting of maize, beans or sorghum. The picking of cotton by machinery has not actually been found profitable in all parts of the Southern States of America apparently. It is best attempted on small plants after leaf fall and this is sometimes produced by frost and sometimes by chemical action. In Uganda there is no frost and the plants are too leafy to be dealt with chemically. Loss of flowers from diseases and pests makes an untidy plant which matures in patches and has to be picked in instalments. Mechanical picking therefore presents difficulties.[1]

More important still is the doubt now being raised as to the effects of large-scale cultivation of cotton on the spread of disease and pests. Buganda lies above the optimum altitude for cotton cultivation and its crop is more than usually liable to pests and disease. There is evidence that smaller plots lessen the risk of diseases and pests attaining severe concentration. This again points to the fact that mechanisation may be of more use in the case of crops that are at present subsidiary than for cotton itself.

Again, as in other parts of the world, all districts are not suitable for the use of mechanical devices. The Annual Report of the Department of Agriculture for 1950 estimates, for instance, that they are unlikely to be successful within a 25-mile radius of Kampala, owing to the excessive fractionation of the land here. In fact, the size of plot is a limiting factor everywhere, as has been pointed out. Evidence seems to suggest that holdings over 20 acres could mechanise with profit, provided the farmers are prepared to alter their methods and the crops they grow to suit mechanisation, and there are many holdings over this size in parts of Bulemezi and Buddu, although coffee is increasingly grown in Buddu and mechanisation is not needed for this crop. In plots between 5 and 20 acres it is thought that mechanisation will be useful for putting land under cultivation for the first time. Under 5 acres it is suggested that mechanical devices can only be used if there is co-operation between farmers. It is pointed out that where fields are scattered the tractors take 2·03 hours per acre and where the fields are small but concentrated near together they take 1·82 hours per acre and at an experimental co-operative farm they take 1·43 hours per acre.

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[1] Information given by Mr. J. D. Jameson.

Thus the prospects for mechanisation bring us back again to the unusual features of Ganda land tenure which have so often been referred to in this report. It is a characteristic of this system that there are large units of ownership split into countless small plots on which tenants have been confirmed by law in possession and power of entail of land at a fixed rent whatever the size of plot or whatever the commercial value of the land. The right of the peasant to a plot held in customary tenure is highly cherished by him and he regards it with the same sanctity as he does the famous Uganda Agreement of 1900 and it is difficult for a landlord to evict him. The right of sale of land, also following from the Agreement has caused much fractionation of land now in the hands of small landowners of five to ten acres. This division of the land was originally welcomed by the authorities as a means of equalising the position of landowner and tenant, as Powesland describes, but it has, of course, made the creation of large farms and the use of mechanical devices more difficult.

Thus, it is only possible for a Ganda landowner to use mechanical devices if he happens to be in possession of land on which there are no tenants as is the case in many parts of Buddu,[1] or if he is prepared to group his tenants together[2] and to alter his methods of production and the crops he grows. In any case he will have to employ some labour though there seems to be a tendency for sons to remain at home where there are big profits to be made. In parts of Buddu, for instance, and particularly in Moslem areas, we found instances of large families in which the sons remained cultivating for their fathers and in which landlords said they were not going to give plots to any tenants in order to keep the land for their sons.

If wages continue to rise it is possible that Ganda will take work for wages on African farms if they are used for skilled work associated with tractors and machinery.

With regard to land occupied by tenants, the buying out of customary tenants would be extremely unpopular and would lead to an outcry from peasants that their immemorial rights were being infringed. Nor would it be easy to try to reduce the number of small landowners since kudos and political rights are so closely associated with land ownership in Buganda.

It would seem to be possible to extend informal co-operation among the small tenants and landowners in a number of ways. Successive Annual Reports of the Agriculture Department urge the reorganisation of land units and it is quite possible that this might be achieved under pressure of the increasing demand for labour and the excitement of opportunities for mechanisation. Apart from the co-operative societies already growing up, it seems that it should be possible to stimulate further co-operation and rearrangement of land through the native authorities, and the landowners who are so largely represented on their councils. We have shown that the villages and the estates (*bitongole*) are often inhabited by groups of kinsmen of the landowners with others added to them as adherents. These men are accustomed to co-operating together in many social activities under the direction of the landowner or the landowner-chief. It might be possible under sufficient financial stimulus, such as increasing cotton prices and the chance of mechanical help, to use the *batongole* in the rearrangement of peasants' land in this way. The use of the *bitongole* as cultivation units might also make possible more economic use of the few porters available.

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[1] A similar instance is reported from the sample area in Kyagwe (*cf.* p. 240).

[2] One landlord possessing 16 acres of land has apparently hired a tractor to plough up the whole lot and is then letting it out to tenants (*cf.* also Table on pp. 210–11).

LANDLORDS AND TENANTS

Muruka	Landlords total	Without tenants	With tenants	No. of tenants	Ave. No. of tenants
Mumyuka, Busiro					
Muruka 1	69	23	46	600	13·0
„ 2	39	12	27	565	20·6
„ 3	69	22	47	591	12·6
„ 4	62	23	39	422	10·8
„ 5	35	14	21	700	33·3
„ 6	12	4	8	491	61·3
„ 7	50	16	34	469	13·8
„ 8	48	14	34	580	17·1
„ 9	27	5	22	485	22·0
Total	411	133	278	4903	17·6
Mutuba III, Busiro					
Muruka 1	16	1	15	573	38·2
„ 2	19	2	17	226	13·3
„ 3	17	3	14	195	13·9
„ 4	5	0	5	228	45·6
„ 5	63	12	51	547	10·7
„ 6	17	3	14	432	30·9
„ 7	1	0	1	93	0·0
„ 8	1	0	1	260	0·0
Total	139	21	118	2554	21·6

LANDLORDS AND TENANTS—*continued*

Muruka	Landlords total	Without tenants	With tenants	No. of tenants	Ave. No. of tenants
Mutuba VII, Kyagwe					
Muruka 1	6	0	6	605	100·8
” 2	8	0	8	621	77·6
” 3	53	4	49	749	16·2
” 4	34	5	29	263	9·1
” 5	29	4	25	362	14·5
” 6	26	1	25	364	14·6
” 7	20	2	18	160	8·9
Total	176	16	160	3124	19·5
Musale, Buddu					
Muruka 1	70	6	64	865	13·5
” 2	128	31	97	989	10·2
” 3	59	9	50	735	14·7
” 4	57	14	43	378	8·8
” 5	97	25	72	722	10·0
” 6	63	9	54	567	10·5
” 7	125	24	101	751	7·4
” 8	25	4	21	491	23·4
” 9	95	15	80	495	6·2
” 10	56	18	38	380	10·0
Total	775	155	620	6373	10·3

	Tenants on Crown Land
Musale, Buddu	
Muruka 1	58
” 2	14
” 3	40
” 4	423
” 5	76
” 6	83
” 7	0
” 8	4
” 9	101
” 10	239
Total	1038

To conclude, it appears that the Ganda peasant could improve the yield per acre of his cotton by following more closely the advice of the Agriculture Department, and he has shown that he is willing under the stimulus of higher prices to make an extra effort to put more acreage under cultivation. He can presumably manage on small plots without outside help and in some areas he could do with less porter labour, if he co-operated more closely with his neighbours to permit of the use of mechanical aids or if he changed from cotton to coffee cultivation. But, without very drastic changes in his work habits, his system of land-holding and possibly even his crops, there is no doubt that the use of foreign labour is the easiest way for him to get results and it is difficult to see how the 20-acre farms thought advisable by the late Governor of Uganda could possibly have been run without such help.[1] Whether a new economic situation will force him to make such changes remains to be seen.

Competing Claims of Peasant Production and Industry.

The dependence of Buganda's plantations and industries on foreign labour has already been described The 1938 Labour Commission Report estimated that 62 per cent. of the labour on non-African plantations (excluding sugar) was composed as follows: 62 per cent. from Ruanda-Urundi; 24 per cent. from other British territories and only 14 per cent. from Uganda. The figures from the sugar estates were similar, i.e. 65·5 per cent. from Ruanda-Urundi, 10·5 per cent. from other British territories and 24 per cent. from Uganda; while in the ginneries at that date 75 per cent. of the labour came from Ruanda-Urundi, 9 per cent. from the Congo and Sudan and 16 per cent. from Uganda. The analysis of the labour employed in the scheduled industries in 1950 shows that the position has not virtually changed. 29·7 per cent. Ganda are employed in all non-African agriculture as well as in construction, civil service, mining, industry and retail trade (*cf.* p. 93). The Ruanda-Urundi contingent is still far in excess of members from other areas since they compose 23·9 per cent. of the labour force as against 17·4 per cent. from the Western Province, 7·5 per cent. from the West Nile; 5·2 per cent. from the Eastern Province; 4·9 per cent. from the Northern Province; 4·1 per cent. from Kenya; and 7·2 per cent. from the Sudan and other areas.

As to the future, there are obviously many possibilities. The numbers of immigrants may fall off very substantially during the coming years or the annual intake may remain unchanged, but the labour may be differently distributed within Buganda. With regard to the first, it is obviously difficult to prophesy. Powesland, on the basis of his historical study, foresees no very serious diminution of the immigrant labour force in the future. The Belgian authorities, on the other hand, believe that some of the many measures they are taking for the economic development of the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi will provide a living for some of the inhabitants of their over-populated areas and that the new social policies described will also lessen the rate of migration. The anthropologist would expect there to be a certain relatively speaking fixed percentage of immigrants composed mostly of young men anxious to make money to set up in life and finding it necessary to go "abroad" to do so, in order to avoid kinship obligations which prevent the saving of money at home. In peasant economies a man requires his greatest capital outlay in youth when he needs a wife and a house, but the need for large sums of money gradually diminishes. The evidence in this report seems to indicate that there are many Ruanda and Rundi who travel or stay at home according to the conditions offered. The suggestion that immigration becomes a "habit" is not borne out in this area any more than it has been in other parts of Africa. Southall shows that there is a differential migration rate in the Alur country, and that the exodus varies according to the earning possibilities and other social conditions in each district. The analysis of the Kyaka Ferry and Kabale figures shows again a differential immigration rate. 41 per cent. of those passing through Kabale come from Nyanza district and 52 per cent. travelling over the Kyaka Ferry come from Ruyigi, while 22 per cent. come from Muhinga. It appears that, whatever the young men may do, the bulk of the population does not travel long distances to work if it can get a reasonable standard of subsistence.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Sir John Hall, "Some Aspects of Economic Development in Uganda," *African Affairs*, April, 1952.

Moreover, the history of the present migration shows that news travels fast and that the reactions to changing economic conditions are rapid ones.[2] Fluctuations in the foreign labour supply must therefore be expected to continue unless there is a radical change in the factors which now attract immigrants so strongly.

At present, as every chapter in this report indicates, the immigrants find themselves in an unusually favourable position in Buganda. Their journey to work is short compared with the travel necessary in many parts of Africa and much of it can be done by bus or steamer. The travellers need not remain out of touch with their friends, either in their home country or in Buganda, as is the case with many of those recruited for work in the South African mines, who are now flown by air from Nyasaland and even from as far north as Somaliland, and hence have no possibility of returning at their own expense if things go wrong. In fact it would probably be true to say that there are few parts of Africa where the voluntary migrant takes less risks of permanent exile or unemployment than in Buganda.

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[1] Margaret Read's figures show differential migration rates of this kind from different Provinces in Nyasaland. *Cf.* M. Read, "Migrant Labour in Africa and its Effects on Tribal Life," *International Labour Review*, Vol. XLV, June, 1942.

[2] E.g. The drop in figures produced by the rumour that the British authorities were recruiting foreign labour during the last war is a case in point.

This situation seems unlikely to change since the demand for foreign labour is increasing all the time and transport facilities are also improving. However, the rate of settlement of migrants on the land might be reduced, if the Ganda wished this to be done, by a change in the present system of customary tenure which, as we have seen, greatly facilitates the taking up of land by foreigners and thus removes them after a short period from the cotton plots of the Ganda where they are urgently wanted, and from the plantations of the non-Africans where they are also needed.

The Government of Buganda has discussed this problem for many years. Between 1923 and 1925 the Central Council were deliberating whether the section in the 1908 Land Law restricting land sales should be amended by the substitution of "non-native of Buganda" for "non-native of the Protectorate." In 1951 a further recommendation to this effect was passed, though it is not yet implemented (*cf.* p. 198). Such a regulation would be unlikely to reduce the settlement of foreigners since very few of them are allowed to buy land according to the present legislation—in fact only natives of the Uganda Protectorate. The tension between Ganda and immigrants is really caused, as we have seen, by the number of foreigners who are renting land according to a tenure which prevents them or their heirs being dispossessed or ever having their rent raised. If the Buganda Government decided to put an end to the *kibanja* system it would no doubt please the landowners, but it would be considered as a grave injustice by the Ganda peasants who regard the 1927 *Busulu* and *Envujo* Law as a sort of charter of rights. If it were feasible, however, to define the term "foreigner" more exactly, then it would presumably be possible to exclude new immigrants from the unusually favourable conditions of this type of customary tenure and from protection under the 1927 law. The existing legislation already makes a distinction of this kind between Ganda and immigrants, since those who have been in the country under two years are not liable to tax;[1] and foreigners who have not paid three poll taxes or three *luwalo* taxes are excluded from the roll of electors at the *muruka* level.[2] On some such basis it would presumably be possible to postpone the time when an immigrant is allowed to take up a *kibanja*, and it is at least arguable that a man who is not a citizen of Buganda in the sense that he does not pay the taxes incumbent on all its adult males, should not have the benefits which the Ganda peasant has won in the course of history. The exclusion of foreigners from the advantages of customary tenure for a stated period might well allay the growing apprehensions of the Ganda peasant and form a reasonable compromise between the interests of the landowner, who tends at present to prefer foreign tenants, and those of the peasant. It would not prevent, but it would probably slow down, the present process of settlement by which the Ganda farmer gets the temporary use of foreign labour during a two or three year experimental period before the immigrant settles down on a plot of his own and the subservient porter becomes a rival producer of cotton. Such measures might also conceivably have some effect on the rate at which plantations lose their labour when the immigrants they employ take up plots of land in the surrounding area.

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[1] *Cf.* Land Laws given on p. 127.

[2] Law for Selecting Unofficial Representatives of the Councils, 1945: Legal Notice, No. 241, 1945.

Another possibility for the future is that industry and even plantations might so change their conditions as to attract the foreign labour away from cotton cultivation. Competition between the African and non-African employers has continued for the past thirty or forty years, as Powesland shows. The conflicting interests of the peasant producer, the plantation manager and the Government Public Works departments have been apparent in fact from the beginning of the century when the introduction of cotton as a cash crop coincided with a period of rapid development, European experiments in large-scale growing of coffee, tea, rubber and sisal, and big programmes of construction such as building, road-making and railways.[1]

The British administration introduced the growing of cotton and has always furthered its cultivation energetically, but it has from the first also used its powers to secure labour for other parts of its development programme. These measures included the use of forced, though paid, labour (*kasanvu*) in an organised form for fifteen years, i.e. from 1908 to 1923, and also the organisation of recruiting campaigns, especially in the West Nile district. These measures were evidently undertaken under pressure of administrative needs for transport and other facilities, and also to meet the demands of the planters. There was also evidence in the succeeding years of Government apprehension at the sudden prosperity of the Ganda cotton farmer and anxiety over an economic system in which nearly all the unskilled labour was done by foreigners.[2]

It is difficult to compare very exactly the earnings of a small-scale Ganda cultivator with those of an unskilled labourer working for wages in an industrial concern or on a non-African plantation. Men working in light industry or public works in 1951 were earning from Shs. 17 to Shs. 49 a month according to the Annual Report of the Labour Department for 1951.[1] This might be taken at Shs. 33 a month as an average figure, or roughly £20 a year for a man continuously in work in this fashion. By the same type of calculation an unskilled labourer on tea or coffee plantations was earning from Shs. 15 to Shs. 35 a month, or roughly £15 a year if working the whole year round. The small-scale cultivator on the other hand who probably does not grow more than one acre of cotton[2] might with good cultivation get from this acre 450 lb., earning at present prices £12 10s. a year. If he put his land under coffee he might hope to get from the same acre a third of a ton of clean coffee which, with expert cultivation, would yield him £100 a year at present prices. The yield would be much less with the type of cultivation commonly achieved.

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[1] Powesland notes that 10,000 head porters were being used a day in Kampala alone in 1907.

[2] E.g. Governor's despatch of 1922 urging that wages be kept up "to impress upon the natives generally that unskilled labour may be adopted as a reasonable means of livelihood," and not as "the last resort of the destitute." *Cf.* p. 26 *et seq. supra.*

Thus the financial gains of the two forms of employment are of the same order but there are other factors which turn the scale in favour of the small producer. His hours of work are less. Under experimental conditions it takes 150–160 man-days an acre to grow cotton and 100 man-days an acre to grow coffee; whereas the wage-earner is working every day.[3] The cultivator also grows his own food and has housing for his family, whereas the industrial worker must either buy his own food at great expense in town or live, as many do, 5 to 20 miles out of town and bicycle into work each day.

In the case of the large-scale Ganda farmer there is no doubt where the best profits are to be made. The most highly skilled workers in industry listed in the 1951 Labour Report are electricians who are earning Shs. 168 a month or £100 16s. a year; and these have to provide their own food and housing. The large-scale coffee farmer on a 60 to 90 acre holding in Buddu, who is able to follow modern methods of cultivation, is, however, getting £100 gross an acre for his coffee and a few are known to be making £1,000 to £3,000 a year. This type of farmer is still paying the same poll tax as the unskilled labourer and it will be seen that even after subtracting for costs of labour, transport, *envujo* and other payments, he is immeasureably better off than the skilled worker in industry.

It is easy to understand against the background of these facts why the Ganda have chosen to continue as cash crop cultivators and have left plantation work and industry to others.

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[1] Op. cit. Appendix V.

[2] *Cf.* Figures of average cotton acreages given on p. 202.

[3] A reasonable figure for coffee on new land is given by Mr. Brown as 200 days with 100 days on second or third year land. He gives 80 man-days for coffee on established plots under supervision.

The present rapid industrial development of Uganda is being forwarded by direct Government action and is designed, according to published statements, to increase the wealth of the country and hence its possibility of providing increased social services for its inhabitants. It is also planned as a means of guarding against the catastrophes likely to follow any sudden fall in the price of cotton in a country so largely dependent on a single commodity for its prosperity.[1]

The extension of mining and the setting up of secondary industries were also strongly advocated by Sir John Hall as a means of providing alternative sources of employment for "excess population on the land" which he expected to become a problem in the future.[2] This argument does not seem a cogent one as far as Buganda is concerned. As Fortt has shown, the population increase during 1931–48 was not a natural one, but largely due to immigrant settlement. The total Ganda increase during those years is reckoned at 13 per cent., whereas the immigrant tribes increased by 285·5 per cent. The fact that industries and mines have largely been staffed by foreign labour up to date has not, perhaps, received as much attention as it should in this connection. Some of this "foreign labour" in Buganda industries has been shown to come from other parts of Uganda itself and the new concerns may well provide openings for the men coming from the increasingly over-populated areas of Kigezi and the West Nile. But by far the greater part of the labour force at present comes from Ruanda-Urundi, and hence, unless the work habits of the Ganda change radically during the future, the new concerns are likely to be of more use to the labour from the over-populated Belgian territory next door than to that of the Uganda Protectorate. It is even possible that this immigration may actually cause an increase in the population on the land, if the Ruanda and Rundi continue their present practice of working for a short time in industry or in plantations and then finding land on which they can settle and bring their families to live.[1]

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[1] The fixing of the cotton prices paid to the individual cotton producer at lower than market value during recent years has also been undertaken to cushion the small-scale farmer against loss during the years of low prices. It can be said to have penalised the development of the cotton industry to some extent since it makes it more difficult for the enterprising African farmer to accumulate his own profits for capital equipment, but it helps the small-scale producer who is hit specially hard during the bad years. "Agrarian unrest" may be said to be most marked among the wealthier Ganda at the moment since they feel they are prevented by the Government policy from making large profits. A change in the present method of stabilising cotton prices might well shift the dissatisfaction from the large to the small producer, since the latter would then be at the mercy of fluctuating prices.

[2] *Cf.* Sir John Hall, op. cit. and E. B. Worthington, op. cit.

The policy of industrialisation is bound to increase the competition for labour which is already short at present wages. Owners of sugar, tea, coffee and rubber estates complain of their need for more labour. In reports made with the 1950 labour census one of the sugar companies declared itself short of 3,000 unskilled labourers as well as of technicians of different kinds; a tea estate asked for 1,000 more unskilled labourers; and various small estates or undertakings reported that they needed 50 to 100 more workers. The complaints of the Ganda farmer have been listed elsewhere. The relative appeal of these different forms of employment to the immigrant labourer will therefore influence the future of Uganda profoundly.

At present the Ganda employer competes favourably for the immigrant labourer since he gives him easier hours of work and the possibility of living a familiar type of life under village conditions and ultimately of setting up house with his wife and family on favourable terms. By comparison, neither plantations nor industry have so much to offer since very few of them at present house their employees together with their families, and they offer regular hours of work, fairly closely supervised, and in some cases, lower wages than the Ganda farmer.[2] It is for all these reasons that immigrants from Tanganyika are prepared to walk 200 miles further to reach Buganda rather than take work nearer by in Buhaya, and men from the Eastern Province of Uganda walk through Busoga where work awaits them, until they reach the same favourable labour market.

High wages in plantations, mining or industry and improved conditions of housing and permanent settlement might, however, increase the draw of this type of labour and lessen the present attraction of cotton production to the immigrants from Ruanda-Urundi. Very high wages in industry might even attract the Ganda themselves into unskilled labour in industry, which at present gives them a lower return than the proceeds of the sale of their cotton—especially as the man living on his plot does not have to pay for his food, which his wife grows for him.

Shortage of good land in the course of a period of years might have the same effect, although the shortage is not yet apparent; or a change in the present type of land-holding which protects the peasant from being evicted or brought up.

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[1] It is for this reason that the project for research into the immigrant labour turnover in plantations and industrial concerns referred to in Appendix E is of such importance.

[2] Hygienic conditions and medical attention may, of course, be superior in the non-African undertakings but it seems that the immigrant readily exchanges these for freedom and family life.

In the same way the wealthier Ganda farmer might change his habits of cultivation if industry began to deprive him of labour which he already feels is inadequate to his needs. He might abandon cotton production in South Uganda which is more suited than the rest of the country for its cultivation, and grow other crops. Coffee is already challenging cotton and with good reason from the peasant's point of view, but he might also grow maize or sweet potatoes which can more easily be grown with mechanical aids, or European vegetables to supply the market which will soon develop in Kampala and Jinja as increasing numbers of technicians from overseas are employed by the new industries.[1] He might be able to get increased yield from the land with his labour through the new Government policy of introducing cotton dusting with perenox which is likely greatly to increase the yield per acre.

The history of the primary production in Buganda shows that, whatever may be said against the Ganda farmer, he is not conservative by comparison with other peasant populations in Africa. His calculation of his own best interests may be faulty and his methods of costing hazy in the extreme, but he has increased or reduced his acreages rapidly, thrown over cotton for coffee, clamoured for mechanical aids and formed new co-operative societies. It would be difficult to predict how he would react to very severe competition from the new industries.

It is not yet known how far industrialisation in Buganda will proceed and therefore the extent to which these new developments will constitute any serious threat to the older cotton production. The general effects of the policy will depend on whether the new concerns bring a higher return per man than that derived from cotton production and this is a point on which little data seems available. The advantages to the peasant in Uganda as a whole also presumably depend on the taxation policies of the Government and the extent to which the increased wealth produced by the secondary industries and mines can be made available in terms of increased social services for the population as a whole. There is also the question of how far industrialisation is likely to cause a serious rise in the cost of living to the ordinary citizen. Its long-term effects will depend on whether the new industries increase the over-all productivity of the community or not. These are matters for the economic rather than the sociological expert and no attempt can be made to estimate their joint effects here.

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[1] Agricultural experts and others are already pointing out that it will be impossible to support large populations of urban Africans on a perishable crop like plantains which is difficult to handle and transport.

CONCLUSIONS.

Economic. The type of immigration now taking place in Buganda is mainly a voluntary movement facilitated by easy travel to and from the labour reservoirs in the neighbouring countries which enables links to be maintained with the travellers' country of origin and thus permits annual fluctuations in numbers according to the varying opportunities offered by the Buganda labour market and crop prices. It is a movement from districts with lower earning possibilities, fewer opportunities for cash crop production and, in some areas, more severe communal obligations, to a wealthy country which has developed rapidly and has had land available for settlement. The immigrants seem to have shown some recognition of the importance of the relative cost of living on each side of the border. Powesland shows that the figures suggest some kind of association between the size and direction of the migrant stream and the relative changes in the value of the Belgian franc and sterling (see page 49). But where the chief motive for emigration is an opportunity for saving money away from the demands of kinship obligations, as is often the case with the younger migrants, then the factor of cost of living seems of less account. Southall explains that seasonal cotton growers from the Alur tribe come to Buganda even though the cost of living is higher in South Uganda than in the West Nile district.

The immigrants are mainly employed in peasant agriculture either as seasonal or more permanent labourers, or as seasonal tenants working on a share-cropping basis or as permanent landholders under customary tenure. The movement, therefore, seems to have similarities with the migration of Africans from French West Africa to the Gold Coast, Gambia and Nigeria, a migration which also results apparently in permanent settlement in the new country. The seasonal cultivation of cotton by West Nile immigrants to Buganda can also be compared with the annual migration of workers known as "navétanes" to help in the groundnut harvest of Senegal, although it seems to be of smaller proportions;[1] whereas the more permanent settlement of immigrants from Ruanda-Urundi recalls in some of its features the migration of "stranger farmers" to parts of the Gambia. It differs markedly from the type of migration common in South Africa and Northern Rhodesia where the labour, voluntary or under contract, goes to work in industrial areas under European employers and particularly in mines.

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[1] Reckoned by an observer as 45,000 to 50,000 every year. *Cf.* International Labour Office Report to Committee of Experts on Social Policy in non-Metropolitan areas.

Uganda has grown comparatively rich in fifty years through the growing of cotton, but like other colonial countries it had to develop this new source of revenue and to meet at the same time demands for the roads, railways, buildings and social services required in a modern country. Its own population was unable to produce the labour required at existing wages and the additional labour force for these needs has been provided by immigrant workers. In South Africa the native African makes a scanty living farming in impoverished reserves or alternatively he earns better wages in domestic service or secondary industries in the towns; while the unskilled labour needed for the less popular heavy industries, such as gold mining, which do not provide opportunities for family life and skilled employment has to be provided very largely from other parts of Africa, such as Portuguese East Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Somaliland.

In Buganda, by contrast, rich soil, ample rainfall and a present sufficiency of land make primary production profitable to the indigenous people and hence the Ganda have remained in cotton cultivation and chosen to take only the skilled jobs in urban areas. They have left the alien peoples to do the unskilled work in non-African undertakings. It is impossible to say as yet whether the new industrial developments planned will compete more favourably than they have in the past with small-scale African cultivation, and whether the Ganda will give up this traditional role.

In Buganda, too, European settlement has been limited to very small proportions by legislation preventing the purchase of land by persons who are not natives of the Protectorate. Ganda have thus been able to undertake skilled and semi-skilled jobs when they have been found fit to hold them. They are in fact being encouraged and even pressed to train themselves for skilled work which would not be available to them in other parts of Africa. Whether this favourable position for the Ganda can be maintained when the new industries have called for the recruitment and possibly the settlement of numbers of European technicians remains to be seen.

Sociological. This immigration is a movement of individuals, not of large groups, such as the extended families or lineages which used to detach themselves from parent stems and seek new lands or allegiances in the old days. In a society where status is at least partly based on descent, and clan and lineage affiliations are still important, it is not unnatural that tribal identities should remain distinct even among individual immigrants and families settled for one or two generations in Buganda. As the Ganda himself remembers his centre of clan origin, so the Buganda-born foreigner who may perhaps now speak no language but Luganda, calls himself still a Rundi or a Ruanda, and is described as such by his neighbours. The scornful attitude of the Ganda, at any rate to some types of immigrants, tends to perpetuate the distinction between themselves and the whole group of foreigners, the *abanamawanga*. Within this larger group men and women of different cultural origins are also distinct, and easy communications allow them to remain attached, however loosely, to kinsmen of their own ethnic group, even though these may be settled some distance away from them.

As in other parts of Africa, cultural differences form the basis of occupational divisions. The Nkole and other peoples with a Hima element are cattle-herders by choice and tend to settle in the grass-lands of Mawogola, Kabula, West Gomba and parts of Singo. This conforms to their historical traditions. New groupings have, however, developed which indicate the degree to which cultural cohesion is maintained among immigrants. The Lugbara concentrate on sugar-cane cutting, while the Alur will not enter the sugar industry at all and prefer to grow cotton on their own, and also to join the police force of the Protectorate in large numbers. The Acholi also make good policemen apparently, and they and the Lango predominate in road-making and other forms of construction. Toro immigrants are said to provide the majority of the domestic servants for Europeans in South Uganda.

In Village Life. The social structure of the receiving community naturally affects the type of absorption achieved rather than that of the immigrants. The foreigners are easily assimilated into a traditional economic position as dependent labourers or tenants and they are welcomed in these roles as long as they do not become too successful as competitors in the economic field. But they remain isolated after many years' settlement from a village structure largely based on kinship and in a system of political authority closely associated with descent and land ownership.

The cultural characteristics of the immigrant groups affect the process of social absorption to a lesser extent. The important determinants here seem to be the presence or absence of a kindred language and common political attitudes. Peoples from the Inter-Lacustrian Bantu with a similar social structure seem to be more easily fitted into Ganda life than those from Nilotic or Nilo-Hamitic areas with a less hierarchical and authoritarian system of government. The only aliens which now form distinct social groups in Buganda are the small communities of peoples from the West Nile (*cf.* Southall's account above) and the Nubians living at Bombo and elsewhere.

It is not unlikely that here, as in other parts of Africa, the introduction of British ideas of democracy into African local government will increase inter-tribal feeling. If foreigners are allowed to vote on equal terms for the election of candidates for local government bodies, as they will do under a system of universal suffrage, they will cease to feel subservient groups and may quite likely fight for their own representatives in councils at different levels. Such a situation would probably increase the tensions already existing between the Ganda and the immigrants, but it might also strengthen the feeling of tribal consciousness in different ethnic groups. Thus, while economic forces would seem to be making for greater absorption of the foreigners within a period of years, political developments may quite possibly cause a recrudescence of "tribalism."[1]

Buganda has assimilated an enormous influx of foreigners in the past twenty-five years and has done so in an unexpectedly peaceful manner. It seems that in the future its government will have to decide whether it wants to encourage or discourage colonising migration; and whether it wants to facilitate the complete social absorption of migrants already settled on the land or to continue to treat them as people of inferior social status.

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[1] Gluckman reports a similar recrudescence of tribal feeling among alien peoples formerly submerged into Lozi society and now encouraged to stand up for their rights. Gluckman, op. cit., pp. 17–19.

CHAPTER IX

CASE MATERIAL

THE SAMPLE VILLAGES.

A short account of the village surveys done in the three selected *saza* should give an idea of the methods used in this exploratory investigation and of its achievements and failure in relation to the purpose in mind. It will also give some of the data on which the generalisations on the previous pages are based. Certain general characteristics of the selected *saza* have already been given (Chapter IV). Those of the chosen *gombolola* and *miruka* will now be described and lastly those of the village communities in which the fieldwork was done. Such a procedure should give some idea of the immense variety there is in the pattern of settlement from *muruka* to *muruka* and even from village to village within the *muruka*. A table showing the percentage settlement of foreigners of different types in each *muruka* in one *gombolola* will demonstrate this diversity still further.

BUSIRO
Mutuba III

TAX REGISTER, 1950

Muruka	Total numbers	Ganda	Belgian Territories	Western Province	West Nile	Other	Un-classed
		%	%	%	%	%	%
1	573	56·7	17·9	5·8	13·6	4·7	1·2
2	393	57·5	17·5	10·1	0·3	4·9	9·7
3	195	72·3	11·3	7·7	6·2	2·5	—
4	228	41·2	43·0	7·9	5·2	2·6	—
5	547	44·1	23·1	10·9	9·5	10·4	2·0
6	432	53·7	35·2	3·0	1·2	4·7	2·1
7	93	36·6	26·8	10·8	15·0	—	10·8
8	260	37·3	21·9	28·5	11·9	—	0·4
Total	2721	51·1	24·0	9·7	7·5	5·0	2·8

It is tempting to stray from the problem strictly at issue to give a more general description of village life and village structure on the basis of our visits to different communities. But our stay in each was too short to make our observations very valuable and the material on these pages will therefore be limited to the matter in hand—that is to say to those aspects of village organisation which can be said to help or hinder the easy settlement of immigrants and the method by which the settlement has been affected. From this point of view the following factors seem to be relevant:—

(*a*) the age of the village community and the history of the first arrival of foreigners in it;

(*b*) the type of soil, and other geographical factors affecting settlement;

(*c*) the type of land-holding, i.e. the presence or absence of large estates on which farmers cultivate the whole of their own land, as these affect the amount of land available for distribution to new tenants;

(*d*) the degree of movement of tenants and hence the availability of land for re-distribution;

(*e*) the method of settlement of the foreigners, whether as labourers, as customary or seasonal tenants, or as cattle-herds;

(*f*) the attitudes between Ganda and foreigners.

The *gombolola* selected will now be described in order.

I. *Busiro* has been mentioned as a small *saza* lying in the fertile country of south Mengo with its long history of occupation. This *saza* is usually considered the heart of Buganda proper, since it is near to the seat of the Kabaka's government at Mengo, and it contains the shrines of most of the dead Ganda kings. It also borders the centres of modern economic development since it includes Entebbe, the administrative capital of Uganda, while the central section of its eastern border is only seven miles from Kampala, the business centre of Uganda. Many inhabitants of Busiro bicycle to town each day. Others more widely scattered through the *saza* gain an addition to their living by the sale of beer, vegetables, charcoal and other commodities in town. Several of the main roads of Uganda pass through Busiro—the Kampala-Fort Portal, Kampala-Masaka and Kampala-Entebbe roads for instance, as well as the route to Hoima and the steamer port of Butiaba on Lake Albert.

With so much traffic, or possibility of traffic, the population has become a curious mixture from the sociological point of view. It is at one and the same time a centre of traditional life and also a centre of modern trade. Descendants of dead kings and queens and heads of old established clans live side by side with enterprising business men, retired domestic servants who are anxious to live near the capital, and progressive foreigners interested in trading opportunities.

It is not surprising in these circumstances that land is at a premium and that there has been much selling of small plots and hence the creation of many *batongole*—landlords in the sense that they own their own land, but peasants as to the size of their plots and their method of cultivation. The average size of plots in Busiro was stated to vary between a half to three or four acres and where there are large estates these have been subdivided among many tenants. In the selected villages the average figure was 5·8 acres for a Ganda tenant and 3·9 for an immigrant. The average sized cotton plot for the *gombolola* was 0·91 acres.[1]

MUMYUKA GOMBOLOLA.

The *gombolola* of *Mumyuka* was chosen for the start of the survey. Its proportion of immigrant residents is not as high as that in some of the other *gombolola* of Busiro, but the distribution is such that there are as many as 49 per cent. in some *miruka*. The area was also chosen as being an old settled district well within the orbit of Kampala.

Work started on 30th November, 1950. The field workers stayed first at the *saza* headquarters at Sentema and later, for a fortnight, at the selected village of Seseriba, which was conveniently near to the second village at Musisi. The inquiry started with a *gombolola* meeting at the Mumyuka's headquarters at Wakiso. It was attended by the *saza* and the *gombolola* chiefs and thirty-nine councillors. It later became our practice to ask at each preliminary meeting the history of immigration in that particular *gombolola*, but this technique had not then been evolved and discussion centred on complaints that immigrants were settling and not working (five speakers) followed by suggestions that foreigners should be evicted. One tenant definitely accused landlords of taking in foreigners in order to get extra rent. Other complaints were about the lack of transport for porters, and it was suggested that laws should be passed that porters should be more widely scattered. Five speakers asked for laws to force porters to work harder or to standardise their tasks. One man wanted wages to be fixed so that they did not rise. Another speaker suggested that a law should be passed that no fellow should be allowed to take his neighbour's porter. Another complained that the immigrants hung together and passed customary plots from one to another or that they combined to drive up wages. Three speakers thought that the Ganda should work for themselves and should not employ foreigners. These speakers usually expressed alarm that Buganda was being eaten up by foreigners. The *gombolola* chief summed up in favour of mechanisation for big plots and small and gave some information about methods of hiring Government tractors.

At a large council meeting in *Muruka* 6, a long settled area, thickly populated, near Kampala, porters were said to be almost impossible to get and the scarcity was dated from 1949. Various members of the *lukiko* asked for more porters and hoped that the investigators had come to provide them. Two speakers asked that everyone should be "mechanised."

At a council in *Muruka* 7, also near Kampala, the immigrants were said to be mostly renting land in seasonal tenure, coming and going from year to year. Members of the council complained that they could not afford porters, and yet, as many of them worked in Kampala, they wanted help with their gardens. The Government paid Shs. 35

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[1] Department of Agriculture figures.

a month and they believed that the big plantations paid Shs. 35 a month, whereas *they* could only afford Shs. 20 a month. Some speakers asked for a law to forbid landlords to give land to immigrants in customary tenure. Another complained that the landlords were letting land on seasonal tenures at Shs. 30 and Shs. 50 a year and this meant fewer plots available for Ganda tenants. One speaker thought that the Government should just send all the foreigners back to their own countries. The unofficial representative was very outspoken in his complaints against the Government in this respect.

A characteristic of this whole *gombolola* was the number of royal estates. In *Muruka* 2 was a big estate belonging to the Kabaka and eight princesses had land, of whom five were absentees. In *Muruka* 6 the Kabaka had four square miles of land; in *Muruka* 8 two princes and two princesses had land, of whom three were living away. *Muruka* 7 headed the list for royal personages with seven princes and six princesses, of whom five were living on their own land; while *Muruka* 9 had three princes and two princesses. Men and women of royal descent, generally children or grandchildren of previous Kabakas, tend to live in Kampala and put deputies in charge of their land. Sale of land is probably rare among men and women of the royal family and the Kabaka himself is unable to sell land. Hence there appeared to be something more like the old relationship of *mutongole* and *mukopi* on such estates to judge by those visited.

Busiro also had many small landlords, men who had bought plots of five and ten acres in order to settle in the Kampala area. The figures given in the table on pp. 210–11 show that except in the case of *Muruka* 6 which is mainly Kabaka's land, the average number of tenants per landlord is low compared to some districts of Buganda. Thirty-two per cent. of the landowners were farming their own land and some had bought plots as small as half-an-acre. Of these landlords four were foreigners—a Toro, a Nyoro, a Luo as well as a Lugbara who had bought a tailor's shop and was said to "dress like a Ganda."

In all but one of the *miruka* the majority of the immigrants come from Belgian territory and these are mainly Rundi. In two of the *miruka* near Kampala, i.e. 6 and 7, were several cases of single members of one tribe who were assumed to be foreigners making good as tradesmen in the Kampala environs. For instance *Muruka* 6 has one Lugbara, one Alur and one Nubian; and *Muruka* 7 one Soga, one Swahili, one Lugbara and one half-caste. No survey was done in the *miruka* near Kampala and no estimate has been made of the number of foreign tradesmen in charge of small businesses in this area but the high figures for immigrant representation on the councils of Kyadondo, the neighbouring *saza*, would seem to show that such immigrants form quite a large, and probably a respected class in Busiro. (*Cf.* p. 186.)

SESERIBA VILLAGE.

The first village selected for survey was in *Muruka* 9 which lies on the north border of the *gombolola* with its centre 26 miles from Kampala.

It was chosen because it was known to have a high percentage of foreigners, i.e. 49 per cent., and because it had several separate camps of labourers, one of Nkole herdsmen and the other of Luo. These were paying hut rent of 50 cents a month for which they were allowed to build themselves temporary grass shacks. They lived here doing piece work for the season, or longer, and having apparently little contact with their Ganda neighbours. The *muruka* chief was a Moslem and in general there was a high percentage of Moslems in the district. Seseriba contained 68 taxpayers which made it possible to do 100 per cent. sample in the time available.

Seseriba lies on a hillside densely covered with banana trees and bounded on two sides by a papyrus swamp. It is approached by a rough inter-village road which joins the main road to Hoima near Wakiso, a line of Indian and African shops with a post office, a cotton store and a weekly market, and the *gombolola* headquarters near by. The village road is impassable after heavy rains and in spite of being so near Kampala many of the houses of Seseriba, shut away behind their banana groves, give an impression of complete remoteness from contact with the outside world. The links seemed to be made by young tradesmen bicycling to and from Kampala to Wakiso and we had the impression that a number of men in the village were earning their living as much by shoe-making, *kansu*-making and the sale of beer and milk as by cultivation. It will be seen from the tables that about one-third of the householders had additional occupations besides cultivation. A group of Ganda youths who belonged to the "African Beer Club," which was in noisy session over the weekends and after, would seem by gait and occupation to belong to what has become known of recent years as the "spiv" class.

Seseriba originally consisted almost entirely of an estate of 404 acres that had been granted to a moslem chief, Kisasa, at the time of the *mailo*-division in 1909. This chief had gradually sold land and was left with 65 acres of land in 1933, of which his heir sold a further 21 acres in 1935 and 6 acres in 1949. The main purchasers of his land represent two classes of Ganda notables, the prince and the hard-working peasant who has made good. The first, Adamu Kumyuka, was a moslem prince, a grandson of Kabaka Suna, who first bought land from Kisasa in 1932 and then again in 1943. He now has 122 acres of which he farms 8 himself. Adamu, though apparently well over 70, since he was a follower of Lugard in his youth, still does much of his own farm work with his wife, as he cannot get porters. Nevertheless, he lives with the title and status of a prince, surrounded by the houses of five sons, two brothers' sons, and four grandsons. He speaks of his tenants as "his men" and orders them with authority. His deputy is a grandson, who gives out plots to new tenants, listens to cases and scolds householders for not farming better.

The second big landlord is Yunusu Muise, a tenant who saved money from the sale of cotton and coffee which he continuously invested in land. He had bought 127 acres from Kisasa in two instalments by 1933, and another 24 acres from another landlord between 1943 and 1944. A shrewd and hard-working Ganda peasant had great opportunities to rise in the scale when the purchase of land was made legal and Yunusu is a case in point. He not only became one of the biggest landlords in this *muruka*, with 89 acres and 24 tenants in Seseriba and more land in an adjoining village, but he was finally chosen as the *muruka* chief. When he retired some years ago as an old man, his son took his place as chief.

Other smaller landlords are Asumani Mivule, a relative of Adamu, who bought 30 acres and has 8 tenants of whom 3 are his sons; a woman who bought 10 acres through the sale of cotton and has 2 tenants on it; and another landowner with 15 acres.

Thus, the village can be reckoned as a long-settled area and it will be seen that 41 per cent. of the Ganda householders were born in it and 28 per cent. came from other villages in Busiro. It was centred round two big land-owning families, that of Adamu Kumyuka and his brother Mivule with their married sons and grandsons; and that of Yunusu Muise with his son, the present *muruka* chief, and other relatives. The houses of these old established residents were mainly lining the inter-village road, those of the strangers further up the slope of the hill and down towards the swamps.

Immigrants first began to come to Seseriba in 1933 when a great plague in the country killed many Ganda so that landlords began to give out plots to foreigners. Alur came first, and then Nkole and then Rundi and Ruanda. They first rented land, but during the last five years they have started asking for plots under customary tenure and it will be seen from the tables that over half of the immigrants are settled in this way at the present time.

Half of all the immigrants in Seseriba wanted to stay permanently in Buganda and 6 had already been there over 5 years. Nearly half were on their first visit to the country and of those who were on their second visit 20 out of 28 had worked for African farmers before. No intermarriage had taken place.

Shortage of porters was complained of. Out of 28 Ganda farmers questioned 12 said they did not need porters; 8 wanted help but said it was too dear; and 7 wanted porters urgently. One of these asked us to send him 10. The day before we settled, a group of labourers were getting ready to go home to their own countries, including 8 young boys from Bugufi in Tanganyika, who had come across the Lake to work, and 2 Lugbara. An interesting feature of the village was the immigrant camps. Eight Nkole youths were living in 3 grass huts, going out daily to work. Over the border in the next village was a camp of Alur, composed of 10 men, 4 women and 2 young children. These were growing cotton on contiguous 1-acre plots on seasonal tenure.

Hostility between Ganda and immigrants did not strike the investigators although the *muruka* chief said the feeling was growing now that land was becoming scarcer. It will be seen from page 199 that out of 21

Ganda 9 thought immigrants should only stay as porters and that they should not be allowed to farm.

MUSISI.

Musisi, the second sample village, lies over the border from Seseriba in *Muruka* 3. Here the countryside is very different. Musisi spreads over two hillsides with an intervening swamp, but instead of thickly clustered banana patches on steep hills falling to a swampy river bed, the picture is of open, gently rolling slopes, covered with short grass, with a cluster of houses near the inter-village path and others widely interspersed over the hill. The whole area is less closely settled owing to the poverty of the soil, on which Ganda find it hard to grow bananas. Several cotton plots had failed the previous year. They had "dried up."

Musisi also differed from Seseriba in the pattern of settlement and the type of land holding. The village had formed part of an estate granted to an original *mailo* owner, a moslem chief, Alamansari Mpagi, whose son, now a *gombolola* chief elsewhere, had kept the area without tenants in order to graze cattle and goats on land which he thought little suited to cultivation. The fact that a hillside so close to the centre of Buganda was evidently uncultivated at the beginning of the century, when the land division took place, is probably evidence that it is marginal land from the banana point of view. After the first World War however, tenants were accepted when the present deputy, a retired sergeant from the K.A.R., came in to look after cattle. He finally got permission to give out plots when the cattle died of some disease.

Thus, Musisi is an example of a village practically all owned by one absentee landlord and very completely under the charge of his deputy and the latter's deputy. There were only three other landlords, one with 90 acres which he had inherited from his father and had rented out to nine tenants; the second, a retired cook from Kampala, who had bought 17 acres of land from the main landowner in 1944 and was living on the sale of beer in town; and the third, a motor-driver, who had bought land in 1945 and was selling milk in town as well as other produce. In spite of these small sales of land, the whole area was described as belonging to Mpagi and the village was listed in the tax register as having a single landowner.

When the village was first inspected, we were laughingly told that there were only five Ganda there. This turned out to be untrue as seven sons of Mpagi had been given plots of ten acres each, and there were in all fifteen Ganda landowners and peasants. The statement was, however, relatively true since this was a village with 76·9 per cent. foreigners.

The immigrants were said to be more willing than the Ganda to cultivate the poor soil, since they were less dependent on bananas for their staple food. On the other hand Musisi gave an impression of a good deal of movement and it struck us that foreigners might be using the area for their first plot, intending to move on to more fertile soil when they could. On returning to Musisi in April, 1951, it was found that four of the tenants seen in November the previous year had already moved off and others had taken their place.

The village was mainly under the control of a young Nyamwesi, who was acting as deputy to the landowner's deputy, the latter being now old. He was born in Bukoba and had come to Buganda at the age of 16, some 27 years ago. During his stay in the country he had worked for two years in a sugar factory, four years with an Indian timber concern and he then rented a plot in Mawokota for four years. He had not been back to his country since, although obviously acting as a leader of the Nyamwesi in the district and having attracted two of his fellow tribesmen to settle with him. "We are at home here," he said. "This is Tanganyika!"

This Nyamwesi is a good example of the executive power a foreigner can obtain by acting as a landowner's deputy. He had become completely assimilated in dress and general appearance to the local inhabitants. This man had married two Ganda women and said he had become "like a son" to the old sergeant, who was nominally in charge. The Nyamwesi spoke of the land as "his" *kitongole*, and used such phrases as "I will give land to so-and-so" or "I will not allow X or Y to settle here or there."[1] He admitted a preference for foreign tenants to Ganda and said immigrants were happy here all together. When showing us round the Ganda *muruka* chief had said that, though there were so many foreigners in Musisi, yet "we rule," but this seemed to us to be very far from being true in this instance!

Musisi gave all the signs of a more recently settled village than Seseriba. Only 6 per cent. of the Ganda tenants had been born there as against 41 per cent. in Seseriba and most of the immigrants had been settled under 5 years. Forty per cent. were on their first visit to Buganda, 28 per cent. on their second and 18 per cent. on their third. As in Seseriba, over half wanted to settle permanently in Buganda.

Most of the foreigners were settled on plots, i.e. 82 per cent., while 4 per cent. were seasonal tenants and 14 per cent. were porters. The demand for porters was not great since most of the customary tenants were themselves foreigners recently settled and on land on which they were not likely to make much money. Two Ganda had two porters, one had three, and one had one, while the young motor driver had seven to twelve labourers.[2]

Relations between the Ganda and the foreigners seemed to be good, although here the immigrants, probably fortified by their position as a majority group, were much more outspoken in their criticism of the Ganda, accusing them of making fusses about money and land boundaries. "It is better to live with other foreigners," was said; and "It is better to choose waste land and not cultivated plots or you will certainly have trouble with the landowner." But as far as could be judged in a short visit, Musisi, like other places relatively recently settled, was to be considered rather as a set of individuals than as a community. There was no general meeting on our arrival. Groups of immigrants lived in twos or threes scattered at some distance over the hill-side. Three Luo from Kenya were discovered in a small settlement apart, growing maize and millet and with granaries on stilts as built in their own country. A man from the Congo lived alone with six children. A Rundi with his old father and mother, his married and unmarried brothers, lived together with huts three sides of a square. Another Rundi had his married son and daughter-in-law with him, and a third had his father-in-law in charge. Musisi seemed to show how the immigrants would like to live if land were sufficient for them to build together.

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[1] He was giving out land with Shs. 100 to Shs. 300 as entry money.

[2] These were not interviewed and therefore were not entered in the tables.

Three of the immigrants wanted to "become Ganda"; five liked the country and wanted to stay; one disliked the Ganda and wanted to go; one preferred his own country but stayed in order to make more money. The man from the Congo, although he had made three visits to Buganda since 1940, and had had this plot for three years, was closely attached to his relatives at home and had sent his two eldest sons home to visit them. He stayed in Buganda "because of the cotton and the elegance (*buyonjo*) and the fine clothes." Besides, he said, he did not get beaten here. The court gave good judgments and people did not quarrel with him or laugh at him. Four foreigners had married Ganda women. One Nyoro householder had one Ganda and one Soga wife.

MUTUBA III GOMBOLOLA.

Mutuba III lies to the north of Busiro verging on the borders of the county of Singo, which it resembles somewhat in character. It lies across the main road from Kampala to Hoima and hence to Masindi and the port of Butiaba on Lake Albert. However, it gives the impression of being rather remote from contact with modern economic developments in Kampala. Shopping appears to be done mainly at the little collection of Indian and African shops called Kakiri, about twenty miles from Kampala, where there is a post office. It is certainly true that in the one village in which we had contact with the peasants, they appeared to be less lively in discussion and more ignorant of the whole economic set-up in Buganda.

Mutuba III lies mainly on the edge of the elephant grass belt and much of it verges on the short-grass country. Some of the hillsides are dry and stony and unsuited to growing bananas, though the fertility of the soil is of course patchy. From the point of view of land-holding a large part of Mutuba III consists of various estates belonging to the Kabaka. Material on the interesting organisation of one of these royal estates will be published later (in a forthcoming study of land tenure among the Interlacustrine Bantu).

The migrants in this area were described as mostly Alur and the *gombolola* was in fact selected for study for this reason. It was first suggested to us by a meeting of African Agricultural Officers and their statements were confirmed by the chief at our first meeting. He added that the Nkole were the next group of immigrants in size. He estimated that, out of a tax-paying population of 2,700 odd, there were between 400 and 500 Alur living in isolated communities of 20 or more people throughout his *gombolola*. The figures in the 1948 census and in *gombolola* tax registers do not show such a high proportion of Alur and Nkole in the population. The former gives only 6 per cent. Alur in this *gombolola* and the latter 6·6 per cent. Alur, 0·9 per cent. Lugbara and 3·8 per cent. Nkole.

The explanations of this discrepancy between the estimate made by the chief and in the census and tax register figures are probably these. The Alur live in communities on their own and these strike the eye of the observer, whereas the other immigrants are scattered in huts throughout the Ganda villages, and it is impossible to see them without questioning the inhabitants. Again, this is an area of much seasonal tenancy. There is a good deal of unoccupied land in the form of poor soil which is not wanted by the Ganda. Immigrants are prepared to cultivate cotton for two or three years and move on when the land is exhausted. Moreover, foreigners are not liable for taxation for two years. Under these circumstances, the tax registers must be particularly deceptive. As an example may be quoted the instance of *Muruka* 8 in which four foreigners were shown in the tax register and twenty-nine were found to be there. In fact, it appears that foreigners from the West Nile or from Ankole make it their business not to pay tax in Buganda, where the annual rate is higher than in their own country. In one *muruka*, for instance, the chief reported that immigrants saved money for their tax in October and November and sent it home by one of their number. They contrived to pay the next instalment of their tax, still in their home area, in December and then returned to take up land in Buganda.

It was difficult in the short time available to elicit the history of the settlement of foreigners in this area. We had the impression that the West Nile peoples came first and, since the *gombolola* lies across the main route from Butiaba, this is very likely to be true. In *Muruka* 3 they were said to have come in 1935 and to have stayed for three consecutive years and then left. In *Muruka* 4 both Alur and other Uganda Africans were said to spend July to February cultivating. Some of them took up customary plots and paid the *busulu* each year. They returned home in March, often leaving one of their number to look after the plot, and returned to cultivate in June.

Porters seemed to be very scarce as is natural in a *gombolola* where there is so much renting of land. Two chiefs definitely said there were none in their *miruka*; in a third, the chief only had four porters and there were no others.

No council meeting was held at the *gombolola* level, but a meeting was summoned in *Muruka* 8 where the selected village—Mabanga—lay. It was noticeable here that the foreigners, mostly clad in ragged clothes, stood in ranks on the grass plot outside the tumble-down council hall (*cf.* Plate XIV.) From their tall stature many of them could be distinguished as West Nile people. Others wore the customary shoulder-wrap of the Nkole. They demanded to be allowed into the hall, saying this was their affair. They were afraid that the Government meant to send them home. They were not allowed into the body of the council hall, which indeed was very small and dark, but they crowded round the entrance and hung over the window ledges. Members of the council complained of the shortage of porters. The immigrants, they said, were more numerous but there were fewer porters. One man stated that porters were adequate from December to June, but after that they merely did jobbing work or took up customary plots or seasonal plots on their own. Another man complained that the foreigners were cleverer than the Ganda. They came as porters and then asked if they could rent land. Then they began to ask for customary plots. After that they sent a man home to tell their friends not to consent to work as porters but to ask straight away for customary plots. Another complained that wages were very high. They were Shs. 28 a month and this was more than they could afford.

The landowners were attacked by a peasant for giving away customary plots, but one of these defended himself. He said it was not easy to refuse to give plots when there was empty waste land. Sometimes an owner thought he merely rented land, but the tenant demanded to stay. On his estate there were thirty-eight foreigners and no Ganda at all except his own sons. An old man commented on the change from the past. When he was young, he said, the people had few needs and they could always rob the Nyoro if they were hungry and wanted more food. Now things were different and the only way a man could make money was by growing cotton and then of course he needed porters to help him. The discussion went slowly and the meeting seemed to come to no results. At the door labourers asked anxiously if they were going to be turned out.

MABANGA VILLAGE.

Mabanga village was selected as having the highest rate of Alur settlement. There are 63·2 per cent. immigrants, according to the register and among them are two communities of Alur which are described in Chapter VI. Little, therefore, need be said about the village as a whole. The whole of this *muruka* fell within one of the Kabaka's estates and the chief of the *muruka* was one of the Kabaka's bailiffs for this estate. The Ganda in the village seemed to have been settled for some time, as 31·3 per cent. had been born in Mabanga and 25·6 per cent. in Busiro *saza* (compared with the figure of 41 per cent. born in Seseriba village).

The foreigners on the other hand had not been settled for long as compared with the two other communities surveyed in Busiro, 58·3 per cent. of them being on their first visit and 13·9 per cent. only on their second, as against 40 per cent. on their first visit in Musisi and

28 per cent. on their second. There was 10·5 per cent. intermarriage of foreign men with Ganda women and 41·65 per cent. of the immigrants wanted to remain in Buganda.

We were told by the *gombolola* and the *muruka* chiefs that the majority of the immigrants were renting land here, but we found that, although there was quite a high proportion of renting, i.e. 10 out of 36, the majority, as elsewhere, held plots as customary tenants, i.e. 19. This is interesting in an area where there is so much seasonal tenancy. (Of the remaining 7, 6 were porters and 1 was unrecorded.) There did, however, appear to be considerable movement in the village. In the interval between two visits to Mabanga, in December and in July respectively in 1951, the following changes had taken place. Two Ruanda had gone home to settle; two Alur had gone home on a visit and one was sick and had gone home to sacrifice to his father's ancestors; three Alur had gone home permanently and one had taken up another plot in Singo; one Nkole had also returned home permanently after a long succession of visits. In the meantime, seven new Alur had arrived to rent land and these were relatives of the members of the settlement seen by Southall in February. All had come for the first time. Eight Nkole had also come to rent land. Four Rundi had arrived on their first visit and it is significant that they received customary plots straight away and had already paid their *busulu*.

No questions about attitudes between the Ganda and the foreigners were asked and we had the impression that, with the plentiful supply of rather poor land available for cultivation, some Ganda, at any rate, were pleased to see the foreigners.

II. *Kyagwe*, as is noted in Chapter IV, is predominantly a county of big European and Asian plantations and hence it is naturally a centre of foreign labour. Immigrants work on plantations of tea and coffee. They spread out from these non-African estates to take up land in the neighbourhood. They use the transport provided for the contract labour on the sugar estates, and once arrived in Kyagwe, they desert and disappear into the surrounding countryside. One *gombolola* also borders Jinja and foreigners have settled in the suburb and bicycle from there to work. Immigrants are also growing cotton and coffee and in some sub-counties they have opened up forest land and made themselves farms in country which the Ganda were unwilling to clear.

MUTUBA VII GOMBOLOLA.

The *gombolola* selected for the survey was Mutuba VII. It lies across the main road to Jinja and its headquarters is on the outskirts of Kawolo, a huddle of African and Indian shops with a small market. Opposite is a police headquarters and a post office, while the sugar factory of Lugazi, which employs 8,700 labourers, stands on a small rise above Kawolo with the sugar fields covering the rolling slopes on each side of the main road. The majority of the employees are Lugbara and Rundi, with Ruanda coming a close third. The contract labour is mainly housed in camps, scattered through the sugar plantations or on the wooded tops of small hills. Others house themselves near Kawolo or on customary plots on the sugar company's estate, or outside it, in Ganda villages. The average sized plot in the sample village was 4·1 acres for the Ganda and 4·2 for the immigrants.[1]

The *miruka* that compose Mutuba VII can be divided roughly into those near the sugar factory, and very largely dependent on it, and the older settled districts to the south further from the main road and nearer the lake. In the first category comes *Muruka* 1, which includes Kawolo and the tumble-down houses of Seziza, a straggling settlement at right angles to it, where there are concentrated the greatest conglomeration of immigrants that we struck in Buganda. Here live a mixture of petty traders and shop-keepers who prey on the labourers of Lugazi plantation together with a flotsam and jetsam of their relatives and hangers-on. None of these householders apparently have gardens. They trade and buy their own food. Nearest the road is a group of about fifty Nyoro households with their own "chief," much knifed about the head and himself carrying a knife. Seziza straggles into Gerigeri, a similar collection of squalid huts built close together on sites which must be reckoned as commercially valuable. The lower part of Gerigeri was occupied by Kavirondo from across the Lake and above them were some forty Nubian householders, some Kakwa, Luo and others, with a separate group of houses used by some of the employees of the sugar factory. Tribal boundaries were pointed out and each group had its chief. Nubian women with flowing draperies and plaited hair sat apart, while Luo girls with their characteristic protruding teeth and short tight European frocks, gathered together on other verandahs. One had the impression that every man's hand was against the other, but all were avid to seize on the opportunities for trade. A wealthy middle-aged Nubian presiding over a store was recognised as the head of his community. He had travelled far and had traded in Cairo, Luxor and Khartoum. Asked why he had left these big cities to live for the last eight years in Gerigeri, he replied "You also have seen all the great countries of the world and yet you choose to come to Gerigeri! You want to make money like I do!"

Near *Muruka* 1 is *Muruka* 6, a small district much divided up into plots which were in great demand by clerks, traders and others who wish to settle in the neighbourhood of the factory. Here are twenty-three small landlords in three villages of which one belongs to the sugar company and is settled with its labour. *Muruka* 4 is the remains of an eight square mile estate, also split up into many plots sold, in many cases, to employees of the factory. There are thirty-one of these landowners owning plots of about two to five acres.

The older settled *miruka* of Mutuba VII lie to the south. Characteristic of the type of foreign settlement here was the presence of immigrants from the Eastern provinces, mainly Gishu and Dama, many of whom had been driven to Buganda by a big famine which is said to have been severe in 1916 and 1919. This is the famine known as "*kakutya*" by the Ganda. The word means a sack and some say it was used because the refugees carried sacks in which to collect food, and others that it became current because the foreigners were so poor that they came dressed in discarded sacking.

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[1] The average sized cotton plot for the *gombolola* according to the Agriculture Department's figures was 0·57 acres in 1951–52.

Muruka 2 was part of a three square mile estate and its chief was the bailiff of the absentee landlord of this estate. It was said to be fertile land specially good for bananas and coffee. Here we found a small community of Dama of whom the eldest had come with his father and thirty others in 1919, at the time of the famine. He claimed to have found no Ganda here, and said he was given a plot straight away. His companions had all gone home except nine with whom he lived, together with their children and such other relatives as had joined them later. He was now an old man and declared that he had not the strength to return to his own country, which he had been in the habit of visiting every year. His links with Budama were evidently still strong, even after living over thirty years in Buganda. His house was a centre for young Dama coming to look for work or land to settle on. One of his sons and one daughter had married in his home village, the others in Buganda. He still talked his own language to his wife and children.

Muruka 3 was heavily populated and described as long settled. It contained a number of small landlords, 49 altogether, with a big estate of 375 acres farmed by the *muruka* chief for his absent father who owned it. The chief was a progressive farmer, educated at Budo and with experience in the organising of labour on the sugar estate. He had cleared ground with the aid of a tractor hired from the Government and was at the time using 20 porters under the control of a "foreman" who kept their names and other details in a pay-roll. The immigrant population accounted for 50 per cent. of the population and they included some Gishu who had also travelled here at the time of the famine. The small ginnery at Vumba was included in this *muruka*. It employed a number of Sudanese immigrants who also farmed their own land in the neighbourhood. *Muruka* 5, the district selected for the survey, is described below.

At a *gombolola lukiko* in Mutuba VII which was held on 23rd February, 1951, there was a crowded meeting and we became conscious for the first time of a strong undercurrent of feeling against the foreigners. Discussion hung fire and then a man got up and said there were very many foreigners in this *gombolola*—Ruanda, Rundi, Lugbara, Kakwa and others. They had all been given plots of land, but it was very hard for the Ganda to work with them. "There is no peace because no-one understands his neighbour." In the old days all the Ganda knew each other, but how they did not know the foreigners, nor they them. The people who brought in the immigrants as porters ought to take them back to the country from which they came as they were taking away the land. Here one might come across a village with six Ganda and eighteen Ruanda. That was not right. (Pause.) Besides, the immigrants brought in diseases which the Ganda did not have before.

A second speaker was doubtful about the inquiry. He asked what we would do if we found there were too few porters. The chiefs had sent in reports about this before and nothing had been done about it. Why did we think our report would be better than the others?

A landowner then began to complain that people who came here to work never went back to their own countries. Why was this? People told him they were beaten where they came from. If so, they ought to be allowed to stay.

The porter shortage was further discussed and two men said they wanted machines to cultivate with. One said "In England a machine does the work of ten men. Why should this not be here?"

Someone complained of the immigrant tramps (*malaya*) who wander about in bands not settling anywhere. These men were thieves and violent people. The chief agreed and said that he had wanted to issue all the foreign labourers, who were really working, with uniforms or identity discs. The rest could then be arrested or deported as vagrants. He had not been allowed to do this by the Government. He did not know how to deal with these people.

At this meeting we had an impression, which we had not had in Busiro, that the immigrants were here a big administrative problem. The African authorities had to deal with the large number of foreign labourers at the Lugazi sugar estate, and the constant overflow of men from the estate to the villages around. There were difficulties of control and tax collection in the case of labourers who were partly under chiefs' orders and partly subject to direction by the management of the factory and plantations. *Muruka* chiefs were pessimistic about getting information in any district we went to, but agreed that we should visit each *muruka* before making our choice. These men were quite able to understand the basic idea behind sampling. One in fact asked "How will you know that the *muruka* you choose is like all the other *miruka* in Buganda?"

We subsequently held a smaller meeting in *Muruka* 5, the area where the sample village was finally selected. Here older immigrants were asked to give an account of their first arrival in this part of the world. These were mainly Dama and Gishu who had arrived in the famines of 1916 and 1919 described above. They spoke as respected and old-established members of the community. After this the questions all concerned the shortage of porters and the *muruka* chief, himself a large landowner needing much labour, led the discussion. Was it true, he asked, that the Europeans were preventing foreigners from coming in as porters? If this were not true, why were there so many fewer porters than before? People could not understand it. Another man asked if we ourselves were against the porters coming in? Was that why we were doing the survey? If not, why did we not just tell the Government to send more porters to this *muruka*? Another asked if it was true that an Indian lady had built a camp for Ruanda and caught anyone who slept there and sent them forcibly to Lugazi? Then a very old man got up and said he must say he was sorry for us. Why was such difficult work given to women? Was it the custom to put this work on women in England? He hoped that there would soon be peace in the world so that women would not have to leave their homes like this to do work. A woman landowner, seated humbly on the floor, intervened to say that she and her friends would much like to do this work themselves, but this remark was ignored by everyone.

Another old man thought the Ganda ought to do without porters. In the past, he said, they had grown cotton without porters and they could do so again. The chief was, however, doubtful about this. When pressed by us as to whether the Ganda were in fact able to work as hard as the immigrants he said that of course the Ganda could do these things. They could even look after their own cattle, but if there were porters sent them, "surely that was God's blessing to the Ganda?"

A second interesting council meeting was held at *Muruka* 3 in a crowded hall. It was explained that here also the Gishu first came during the 1916 famine. Some went to plantations and some to villages. First they worked as porters, but from 1922 onwards they began to ask for plots of land. The chief explained that the Ruanda were now the most numerous in his district. Some of them had been settled a long time and did not like to be called foreigners any more. There was laughter at this and a councillor said in a loud aside "*You* can call them foreigners but we daren't!" On being asked whether the immigrants called themselves Ganda names, there was again a burst of laughter. One young Rundi said "Yes," he had called himself Kapere. There were shouts of a quite good-humoured kind of "Yes, they are all Musokes or Kaperes now!"[1]

The meeting explained that this was an area which had been long settled and was closely populated. The plots of the peasants were all small, about two acres each. Only the landowners had big plots, such as the acres being farmed by the chief for his father with a hired Government tractor. (*Cf.* p. 240.) Most of the immigrants had small plots in customary tenure. The Sudanese working at the ginnery at Vumba, generally lived also on *bibanja*, and went out to work by day. Some of the sugar factory labourers came out jobbing in the afternoon to get extra food.

The shortage of porters was again discussed with a good deal of animation. A man said that the shortage had started in 1938 when the price of cotton rose and foreigners began to want to grow it. It was difficult to get labour in this village in any case. Most of them settled before they got to Kyagwe. They were like grasshoppers.

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[1] Kapere is a common Ganda name and it is used in the Government newspaper to describe the adventures of a naive, but lovable, fellow who is constantly being duped and making mistakes, chiefly through not following the technical advice given by the Government agents. Musoke is another common name.

They came in swarms and settled in bands together where they found work. Besides, only the rich men could afford porters now. The chief had twenty on his father's land and the few who came were absorbed by the farmers with the most money. The chief asked advice on how to get porters and on how they could be made to come from their own countries to work.

Mechanisation was discussed and the chief said that the price of cotton was so low that it did not pay a man to grow it with porters. The wages for porters were higher than the proceeds of the cotton. Land that would cost Shs. 400 to clear with porters would cost only Shs. 136 with a hired tractor. Figures were produced to substantiate this point.[1]

A peasant then got up and accused the landowners bluntly of giving their land to foreigners for high payment, and there was a quite heated argument on the subject. A Kavirondo, wearing a Ganda *kansu*, brought the discussion to an end by demanding to enter the hall. He said he knew people often accused foreigners of doing this and that, but that he noticed that when the Ganda wanted anything done they came to him because he was an honest man. He was a deputy for a landowner who lived in Kampala. This man had five children, but none of them obeyed him, and therefore he had to employ a Kavirondo to help him. He thought there was no reason why foreigners should not be employed. They should be used even as clerks to the *gombolola* and *saza* headquarters if they could write and read. "The Ganda all trust me," he went on, but irritated murmurs drowned his words and he sat down.

Hostility seemed to have been brought out into the open by this talk and when it was later suggested that the members of this big meeting be divided into two in order to be photographed, several Ganda shouted "Take the foreigners in a separate group! Let us be photographed sitting by ourselves." The situation was saved by the *muruka* chief who sprang into the middle of the crowd, held up his hand for silence and shouted "Stop, you people! I don't want any colour bar here!" It was quickly decided to divide the crowd on other lines and those who were landowners, and "those who do not own land," grouped themselves together.

LUGALA VILLAGE.

Muruka 5 was selected for special investigation because of its high proportion of immigrants (48 per cent.); and within it the village of Lugala was chosen, both because it was the headquarters of the *muruka* chief and bcause it contained a group of nineteen Gishu, a type of foreign settlement not yet encountered in the survey.

Lugala was originally a part of a *mailo* estate of roughly one square mile given to Nasanaira, a chief of this region in the early part of the century.[1] He became the first *muruka* chief in the modern sense of the word and continued in this position until 1924 when he was succeeded in his office by his son Kifulukwe. Nasanaira took with him four brothers and a sister, when he settled in this part of Kyagwe, and he early gave fifteen acres of land to Jakobo, a brother. He later settled land on his second son, Erya, as his eldest son Yohanna was away in Busoga. Nasanaira died in 1945, apparently at the age of 101, according to the dates given on the photograph preserved by his family, and his land was shared out between his descendants who are now the dominant landowners in Lugala. The old man was buried in the banana garden behind his house, according to custom, together with one brother and two sisters. He is in fact said to have founded a "*butaka*" or local lineage centre, as did so many chiefs who received land with the *mailo* division.

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[1] See Chapter VIII for a discussion of the degree to which mechanisation really does away with the need for porters.

The diagram on p. 242 shows the extent to which Lugala is owned by the house of Nasanaira at the present day. It will be seen that ten out of thirteen landowners in Lugala belong to the lineage of Nkameme, the father of Nasanaira.

Other close relatives who obtained land at the division are Bulasio Musisi ("brother" of No. 5), now in another *mutala*, and three other relatives also now in another *mutala*. Relatives living as tenants in customary plots are Nos. 14, 15, 16, 19 and 7.

The last surviving brother of Nasanaira, Yakobo (No. 2) received fifteen acres in 1913 and seems not to have added to it. His three sons (Nos. 14, 15 and 16) had plots on his land. The *muruka* chief, the main heir, owned 490 acres of land, 186·5 given him in the life-time of his father and 303·5 inherited at the latter's death, and was thus by far the largest landowner in the village. He had sixteen tenants on his land, six Ganda, two Rundi, four Gishu, two Kedi, one Toro and one Soga. The rest of the land he tried to farm himself with the aid of a young, recently married wife, a fourteen-year-old daughter, six porters and a herdsman. Much of the land was, however, overgrown and Erya constantly complained of lack of porters. Yokana (No. 10), the eldest brother of the chief, had forfeited his position as head of the family by spending most of his time in Busoga, but he had inherited twenty-five acres on which he had five tenants, three Gishu and two Ganda. He farmed a small part himself with one porter to help him.

The two surviving daughters of the dead landowner, Perisi (No. 12) and Namasoke (No. 13), had married elsewhere. The father's house which they had also inherited was lent to the dead man's widow, who lived on seven acres of land left her by her husband. Yafesi (No. 18) had thirty-five acres, ten bought and twenty-five inherited. Five tenants lived on this land. One of these, a Rundi, had obtained his land in exchange for two daughters whom Yafesi had married, one after the other. He had had one Rundi porter since 1949. One cattle herd worked for him and also cultivated a plot of his own.

Painetto (No. 8) inherited fifteen acres and bought twenty-five. He

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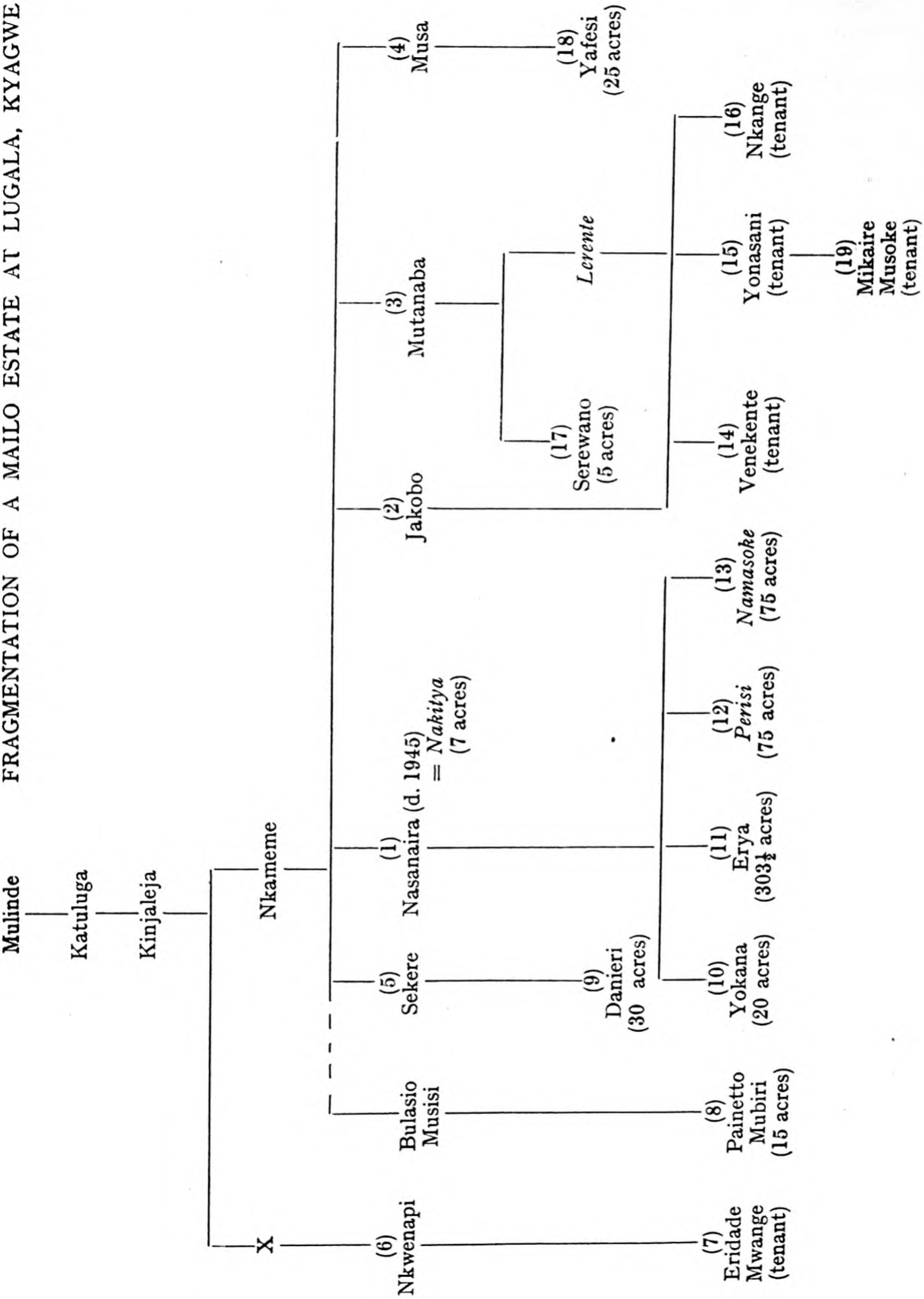
[1] He was offered six square miles, but like many other chiefs at that time refused it as being too big, and took one square mile only.

FRAGMENTATION OF A MAILO ESTATE AT LUGALA, KYAGWE


Mulinde
Katuluga
Kinjaleja
Nkameme
X
(6) Nkwenapi
Bulasio Musisi
(5) Sekere
(1) Nasanaira (d. 1945) = *Nakitya* (7 acres)
(2) Jakobo
(3) Mutanaba
(4) Musa
(7) Eridade Mwange (tenant)
(8) Painetto Mubiri (15 acres)
(9) Danieri (30 acres)
(10) Yokana (20 acres)
(11) Erya (303½ acres)
(12) *Perisi* (75 acres)
(13) *Namasoke* (75 acres)
(14) Venekente (tenant)
(15) Yonasani (tenant)
(16) Nkange (tenant)
(17) Serewano (5 acres)
Levente
(18) Yafesi (25 acres)
(19) Mikaire Musoke (tenant)

had eight tenants (five Ganda, two Rundi and one Gishu). One tenant, formerly a porter, had just been turned out of his plot for failing to pay *busulu*. Painetto kept a shop and also sold milk from his cattle. He had ten porters working for him at the time of the inquiry.

The three small landowners not in the direct line of descent from Nasanaira, had small plots of eight acres, five acres and five acres respectively, which they had acquired from him.

Members of the family of Nasanaira lived in houses that lined the two inter-village roads. Danieri (No. 9), Yokana (No. 10), and Yafesi (No. 18) were prominent among those who welcomed visitors or spoke at council meetings. Yonasani (No. 15) had been chosen as the unofficial member representing the *muruka*. Into this closely-knit group of patrilineal kinsmen, foreigners had penetrated slowly. Standing on the eminence above the chief's house their plots could be seen on the higher slopes of the hill opposite, above those of the family. Examination of the dates at which they took up land is interesting since it shows that at any rate in the early days they came slowly, one at a time. The chief himself gave out land, a plot at a time in 1920, 1929, 1930, 1931 (two plots), 1937, 1939, 1940, 1943, 1949 (two plots), 1950 and 1951, and other landowners did similarly. The impression sometimes given by Ganda that the foreigners are sweeping like locusts over the country is certainly not true of this village and the fact is worth stating. Some of the immigrants had built up extended families of their own and had acquired a certain position.

In this village the attitude to the immigrants was much more friendly than that revealed in the *gombolola* council as is perhaps not unnatural where a considerable amount of land remains to be distributed. Gishu appeared to be popular settlers and many had lived some time in the district.

III. *Buddu.* The *saza* of Buddu, although actually the last *saza* to be visited, was the first to be pointed out to us as the foreigh *saza par excellence*. Buddu lies on the borders of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi and hence is known to be a direct passage way for travellers from the south-west, and Ganda, at any rate, assume that the bulk of the Ruanda and Rundi porters stop there.[1] Since the days of the first European travellers it has been known as a fertile country. Stanley so described it and Lugard, when planning the division of the country between the different religious denominations in 1892, commented on the great wealth of the region and its empty spaces, and considered it a fair allocation of territory for the powerful Catholic party. Buddu is still considered one of the most wealthy districts of Buganda. It is probably the *saza* where the peasants cultivate the largest plots and where landowners farm on the biggest scale. Here we found coffee and cotton plantations of 60 to 100 acres as well as big banana gardens where the plantains were grown for sale. In this *saza* also we struck some of Buganda's biggest business men, owners of lorries which transport fish and bananas to Kampala, successful organisers of co-operative societies and landowners employing many porters. According to rumour, here are also the greatest drinkers in Buganda, the adventurers, the idle sons of rich men and, when occasion offers, the men who are the quickest to riot.

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[1] The extent to which they actually do so is discussed in Chapter IV.

MUSALE GOMBOLOLA.

Within this *saza* Musale *gombolola* was selected for special study, partly because it had actually one of the highest immigration rates, i.e. 51 per cent., but also because it was known as one of the richest areas in Buddu, with some of the largest coffee plantations. It also contained stretches of crown land and some soldiers' settlement plots as well as Kabaka's land. The spectacular increase in tax-paying population in this *gombolola*, i.e. from 1,600 to 7,136, has already been described. In six out of ten *miruka*, the foreigners who have crowded in to take up new land, actually outnumbered the Ganda. The people gave the impression that the proportion of foreigners to Ganda was actually higher than the tax-register shows. The average sized plot in the sample villages was 10·9 for the Ganda and 7·6 for the foreigners. The average size of cotton plot for the *gombolola* was 1·14 acres.[1]

Muruka 8 was in some ways the most interesting in the *gombolola*. Here we were told the "big farm idea had started," that is to say landowners had come to realise that a man could make more by farming himself than by letting out his land to tenants. Here was a whole mountain slope covered with large coffee estates. Houses were of brick with tiled or corrugated iron roofs. European flowers grew in beds round the front doors. Establishments like the following give some idea of the prosperity of the tenants. Kabiri had acted for many years as the deputy of an absentee landowner prince, a son of the late Kabaka. His plot was sixty acres. He had a large house, a garage, a store, and an enormous drying ground for coffee. He was farming with his son who was cultivating on an even bigger scale. Between them they had had that year seventy porters, mostly Nkole who came for a few months to earn money and return home. Kabiri's house was furnished with European furniture. His porters were in grass beehive huts of a delapidated kind round the large square courtyard in front of his house. Six of these labourers clad in rags, sat on a bench outside while the lady of the house entertained the investigator. Kabiri's son had gone into partnership with twenty others to buy a coffee curing machine. At walking distance was another tenant on Kabaka's land who estimated his plot at fifty acres for which he was still paying the customary due of Shs. 8/50 a year although he had paid last year Shs. 500 *envujo* on the sale of 15,000 lb. of coffee. He had made experiments in marketing fish, but the weight of the loads had broken the springs of his car, which stood derelict in the courtyard. Since then he had joined with five others to hire a lorry which carried their coffee to town. This man had a six or eight roomed house with a big concrete drying ground neatly fenced. Facing the house was a long shack with corrugated iron roof which he described as his "labour lines." A group of Nkole were cooking their food there in rusty tins.

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[1] Department of Agriculture figures.

Another big employer was M., a Moslem with four wives, ten children and some grandchildren who also lived in a big brick house set back against a hill covered with banana plantations. M. had taken up land as a tenant of a princess and was at one time her bailiff. He was given a plot of forty acres on which he planted coffee and bananas. Last year he had sold 18,000 lb. of coffee and he continually sold bananas in Kampala. Last year he bought a new lorry to carry his produce to town and next year he plans to get a small coffee curing machine so as to be able to sell his coffee cured. He also belonged to a combine for the sale of coffee and other goods. M. had worked on a European plantation and then as a cattle trader. His estate was carefully drained and mulched. He was employing twelve porters, mostly Nkole, but wanted thirty to farm his estate properly, even though one of his sons and all his wives helped in the work.

It is estates like these that Orde-Browne probably had in mind when he talked of the Ganda employing fifty to a hundred porters. We ourselves heard of African employers with a hundred porters but never came across any.

Throughout Musale *Gombolola* the number of landlords farming their own estates was remarkable compared with other parts of Buganda. Unusual also was the number of men who had bought land instead of inheriting it. The sons of rich *mailo* owners often sold the greater part of their inheritance, and ambitious *nouveaux-riches* bought it. We had a sense that the value of land-ownership was appreciated for economic rather than political reasons here and that hurried irresponsible sales would soon cease.

At a council meeting held at the *gombolola* strong feelings on the immigrant question were expressed, and in fact it was in this *gombolola* that real hostility to immigrants was encountered for the first time and cases of threatened eviction of foreign tenants came to our notice. Two cases of threatened eviction occurred during the fortnight of our stay in this *gombolola*. A Ruanda from the Kigezi area who had lived twenty-seven years in the country had become wealthy. He had originally been given a plot of sixty acres; his family had helped him and he had secured Ruanda porters. No-one had wanted the plot when he came. He had made money and now was about to get a lorry. He said the Ganda had become jealous and wanted his plot. He added quite calmly that this couldn't be done without the Court, and that the Court would be bound to award high compensation, which he knew the Ganda in question could not pay. Two more recent arrivals, Rundi who had put contiguous plots under coffee for the last six years, and were threatened with eviction, came to ask advice. It was plain they did not know the law and believed the owner of the land could get it back.

The meeting explained that the foreigners came first in 1916–17. They were mainly Nkole but these were later followed by Kiga. They first did jobbing work and came for a few months at a time. They were given Shs. 6 or Shs. 7 a month and their food was free because bananas are so plentiful in this country. In 1921 Ruanda came for the first time and the Rundi were thought to have come a bit later. There were no sugar estates then so that the porters walked through the villages looking for work. Foreigners only started taking up plots about 1931. Now wages for porters are Shs. 25 to Shs. 30 without food, but a poor man who wants a porter for a month or two pays up to Shs. 40 and he will only get two to three hours' work for this. Rich men try to pay their porters once a year to keep them. Porters first became really short three years ago.

Questions chiefly concerned the right of Ganda to recruit their own labour at Kyaka Ferry. Farmers were convinced that all the labour was going to the sugar estates in recruiters' lorries and were surprised to hear that they would have to drink tea without sugar unless some labour went to these estates. The idea amused and interested them a good deal.

A meeting at *Muruka* 2 was more stormy and gave some indication of the mounting tension between the foreigners and the local inhabitants. After some further historical discussion confirming that given above, the council was asked pointblank whether they considered that the country had gained by the settlement of foreigners here. A young landowner got up and said it was good that the land should be cultivated. This was greeted with angry murmurs, and an older man said that he wanted the foreigners to stay a few months, work and then go back. Another young man said he wanted the immigrants to stay. There was loud laughter and shouts of "He is a Rundi himself really." Talk became general and porters at the doorway started to shout. Finally the chief got up, unexpectedly, and asked for a vote as to whether the foreigners should be allowed to settle or not. Eight got up and said they were not in favour of settlement and there was a good deal of angry murmuring. No-one else moved.[1] A Ganda woman started talking energetically and said "These people work harder. They work all day. They ask for a plot and they plant it and then they ask for another piece and plant that and so they eat up the land." Another woman added "When you give them a plot they bring their relatives who ask for plots too." It was admitted that porters sometimes earned more than Ganda living on their own plots but everyone agreed that Ganda could only work as carpenters or builders and not as labourers for their fellow-countrymen.

People then asked to be allowed to recruit their own labour. In the midst of this a Ruanda outside the door demanded to come in. He said he had been here many years. He had a plot and didn't want to work for the Ganda. He had done nothing wrong. He wanted to stay here. He wanted to become a Ganda. (Angry murmurs "He can't even speak Luganda properly") The meeting ended in heated discussion. Cf. Plate XV.

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[1] The *muruka*, it will be seen, only had 39·9 per cent. Ganda in it.

Another *lukiko* meeting was held in *Muruka* 4 at the sample village when a similar incident occurred. After blunt statements that the foreigners were eating up the land and were not wanted, a Ruanda got up and said he supposed he was a Ruanda still but he was born in this village. His father and mother were dead. He didn't know anywhere else to live. He had never been further away than Mbarara (ninety miles). Everyone laughed and he sat down. Another old man spoke in the same vein. Both ended with the remark "What have we done wrong? Let the Ganda tell us if we have done anything wrong."

Landlords were asked if they would refuse to give land to immigrants. Six landlords got up, but it appeared that two of these had no land left to give out, and one had actually allocated a plot to a foreigner a short time before. The unofficial member, a smart young man, suggested that we should only talk to him and his colleagues not to the foreigners. Foreigners would only club together and make up answers. The unofficial members would know what to say! After the meeting ended heated discussion went on in front of the chief's house for about an hour.

Muruka 4 was chosen for study because it included Crown land settled with tenants, and one of the special soldier settlement schemes. Foreigners held land in each. Three small communities were selected for the house to house survey in this *muruka*—Luwoko, the village of the *muruka* chief with 63 inhabitants; Nyangabewekere, a stretch of Crown land settled with 37 tenants; and Mugajo, occupied by 37 ex-soldiers holding land under special conditions.

LUWOKO.

Luwoko was a village in which, as in Lugala, the most important landowners belonged to one extended family, the sons and daughters of an original landowner Kakembo, a Moslem, who had had twenty-three children who survived to adult life, by ten wives. This land had been divided between fifteen sons, four of whom still hold land in Luwoko. One of these sons became *muruka* chief after his father but left or was removed from the job. The present *muruka* chief, Kasujju, was a self-made man. He came from Butambala where he had made money by the sale of cattle left him by his father's sister and with this he bought twenty acres of land in 1931. He had become familiar with the district since his father had worked as a teacher there, and he saw its possibilities for development. Since then he had gradually acquired land whenever it was sold by the descendants of Kakembo or others. He had also inherited land. He now owned 165 acres of land and two stores. He had also married into the original *mailo*-owning family and two of his wives were daughters of Kakembo. Finally, having become a big landowner, he was appointed in 1936 as *muruka* chief. Kasujju was a Moslem and his three wives and twelve children farmed together. Envious Christians accredited him with eight wives and said that a Moslem did not need any porters like they did. This was untrue, but here, as in other Moslem areas, the joint family concept was much more in evidence. The grown sons of Kasujju lived beside him and worked in his stores. He declared he meant to sell no land to foreigners in order to keep it for his own children.

In Luwoko there were now eight landlords, of whom three were the sons of the first chief and owned 110, 90 and 100 acres each, and two were near relatives with 10 and 5 acres respectively.

Of these landlords, Kamadi Kagonda with 90 acres, of which he farmed 20 himself, had three tenants. He had at the time (May, 1951) thirteen porters, but six of these were also tenants on his or his brother's land where he employed them at less than the current rate of wages, i.e. Shs. 17 a month, in return for the land. Seven of these were Nkole who arrived ten days before; five were Ruanda of whom two had arrived recently. Three of the porters intended to come back again after a year, one meant to return elsewhere, one was uncertain and one was definitely going back permanently. His porters had been recruited by an African in a lorry. Seventeen of them were brought from Mbarara in this lorry and seven went to Kamadi and the rest to another *muruka*. The lorry driver had promised to get them work at Shs. 30 a month and was to get a month's wages in return from each immigrant. The seven porters hoped to get Shs. 30 but had not yet seen this money. Their employer kept their poll tax tickets so that they could not run away. Kamadi was said to use his porters badly so that they ran away. He complained of shortage.

A second landlord, Bulaimu Kagwa, with 86 acres, had 40 of them under coffee. He said he had two porters, but five were interviewed, and he was said actually to be employing twelve. He was paying wages of Shs. 20 to Shs. 27 to his porters and worked his land with the aid of six wives. He complained loudly and said "My *shamba* was always clean, but now it is full of weeds. We can't get porters."

Kasujju had six porters, five Ruanda and one Ha. Two came in October, 1950, one in February, 1951, and one in March, 1951.

Zibaili Musunka, a son of old Kakembo, had inherited 110 acres in 1928 but most of it was unoccupied as he refused to have anyone but relatives on his land. He would not give plots to foreigners or he would not be able to turn them off. He had had five porters in 1950, and three Rundi arrived the day before the survey ended, saying they fled because their relatives were being branded by chiefs with hot irons. They had not seen this done, of course, but people told them of it and so they ran away!

Luwoko was an old settled village with 40 per cent. of its Ganda inhabitants born in it. None of its immigrant peasants had been born there but nearly a third were on their third visit. Fifteen wanted to stay and fifteen to return home. This was the only village visited where the porters exceeded the customary tenants in a proportion of twenty-three to fifteen.

NYANGABAWEKERE.

Nyangabawekere, the Crown estate, was a thickly wooded hill-slope, the huts hidden in trees and the tenants appearing cut off from the busy life of Luwoko. Plots here seemed to vary from 4 to 20 acres according to the people's rough estimate and for these a standard rate of Shs. 10 a year was paid without the extra cotton and coffee charge (*envujo*). The black soil was described as good but plots had been taken up slowly since 1931. There were 75·7 per cent. foreigners and 24·3 per cent. Ganda. On a surface view each tenant gave the impression of being isolated from the rest. The *muruka* chief said he used the land to resettle foreigners on if there had been any dispute between tenant and landowner.

MUGAJU.

Mugaju lay on an open hill-side, waterless until the recent building of a dam, and remote from buses and stores. Thirty-three ex-soldiers had been settled on 15-acre plots, properly surveyed, with the intention that they should farm on a big scale and should finally own their land in freehold. Thirty-seven plots had been taken up since 1949, 29·7 per cent. by immigrants, all men who had served in the army during the war. They were obviously depressed. Porters were scarce and expensive (Shs. 30 to Shs. 37) and the plots too large to be farmed alone. Wives complained of loneliness. The houses were mostly squalid grass shacks and many owners were living on their own plots, usually near Masaka or in Mawokota, while they put in porters or poor relatives to work the land for them.

These ex-soldiers bitterly resented the presence of foreigners. They thought it wrong that they should have what was equivalent to a leasehold and accused them of unneighbourliness and theft. They came in a deputation to ask to have the foreign soldiers moved. A Ganda commented, "Of course there are a lot of foreign soldiers, since when the Government asked for recruits for the war, the Ganda made the foreigners go first."

This hostility was only one example of the tension between the two groups expressed at meetings, in conversations and in the rough way in which the Ganda landowners talked to their foreign tenants. The burden of complaint seemed always to be the same—not that the foreigners were so numerous but that they were getting so rich.

SOME ALUR CAREER HISTORIES

A. Careers recorded at Mabanga, Busiro, Buganda.

1. Ucama came first to Buganda at the time when they began recruiting the K.A.R. for the war, i.e. probably the end of 1940. He is about twenty-five years old. He walked from Zeu to Pakwach, about sixty-five miles. He had his medical test and paid his Shs. 2/20 for the boat trip to Butiaba, and after another medical test at Butiaba paid Shs. 2 for the bus from Butiaba to Hoima. From there he paid

Shs. 4/50 bus fare to Busunju and went to Uthuba, a member of his sub-clan, who was headman of a group of Alur cotton growers at Mabanga in Busiro. He got a field from the Ganda land-holder and planted some cotton, from which he got two bags that season, paying the owner Shs. 4 at harvest. The next season he only got Shs. 3 on his cotton because of hail. He still only counted as a youth. He was not paying tax and was not planting a full grown man's crop. In his third season he got four bags of cotton, again paying Shs. 4 to the landlord. The next season he moved to Kakiri, where there were some more Alur friends from his home, and began planting cotton again. But he fell ill for one-and-a-half months and his mother's brother only got one bag from his crop, and paid Shs. 10 to the landlord without receiving any ticket for it. The next season he planted beans and made Shs. 35, and the next season cotton again, getting four bags and paying Shs. 12 to the landlord. Then he moved to Rutisi, Busiro, on the Hoima road, and planted cotton, but it died so he gave up and went to Lukoma paw-paw plantation and worked for four months at Shs. 14 a month. He got one bag from his failed crop, and paid only Shs. 1 to the landlord. Then he returned to Zeu in 1948 and began to pay tax. He stayed at home for two years, then in 1950 went and worked for six months at Masindi Port sisal estate and then went on to Mabanga, Busiro. There he shared the grass hut of a classificatory brother whom he helped with his cotton picking. He was too late to plant any cotton himself that season, and only did jobbing work to earn pocket money to buy beer. He twice sent letters home, and also sent a *kanzu* and shorts home for his father. His brother had not given him any money for his work, but would give him some money to take back to West Nile after the cotton harvest.

2. Adrogo is an old man, over fifty. He remembers selling skins to pay tax when it was first imposed in 1914. He has had three wives. Two of them were barren and left him; the other has born him five sons and two daughters. He came to Mabanga for the first time in 1946, to get bridewealth for his sons. He has his wife and four sons living with him. Two of the latter are in their twenties and working their own cotton plots, and the other two are youths under twenty, helping their old father. In the 1948 season he harvested eight bags of cotton and paid his landlord Shs. 16 on it, in 1949 he harvested fifteen bags and paid Shs. 16 again, in 1950 twelve bags and paid Shs. 20. He also has a *kibanja*. He grows food crops of cassava, eleusine, sweet potatoes and beans. He also makes beer and calls people to come and cultivate collectively for him. He has built himself a rectangular grass-walled hut with a verandah. He has sent some money home to a classificatory brother to be invested in a cow for him. When he has married all his sons he will go home. It was the death of one of his daughters, on whose bridewealth he had been relying for the marriage of his sons, that decided him to come to Buganda.

3. Upenja first came to Buganda to grow cotton in 1947 to get money for clothes and tax. He has not in fact paid tax yet, but must

be about twenty. In 1950 he got only two bags of cotton because of hail and paid his landlord Shs. 4. In 1951 he got six bags and paid Shs. 24, having perhaps two more bags still to pick. In his first season, after planting his cotton he left it for his brother to pick, while he went to work at Kawero paw-paw plantation for four months at Shs. 16 a month. The season after that he had got nine bags of cotton and paid the landlord Shs. 16. Twice he has bought a chicken so that he could call three people to come and cultivate his field for it; they just go out at sunrise and work till nine o'clock in the morning. He occasionally does jobbing work. So far he has sent Shs. 100 home to an elder brother, with which five goats have been bought for him. He has no thought of going home at the moment, he wants to stay on and grow more cotton.

4. Negi is about forty-five, no longer has a wife, and all his children are dead. He first came to Buganda in 1924 when he had not yet begun to pay tax. He went to Singo and did jobbing work to get money for tax and clothes. In those days nobody had begun getting their own land to grow cotton on. He went home again after six months. He came back again in 1930, going to Busiro and this time growing his own cotton. He stayed for four seasons and then went home again, was back in Busiro again growing cotton from 1937 till 1942, and again from 1942 till 1948 after a short visit home. Then he spent a year at home and came to Mabanga in 1949. He has built himself a grass hut. He does jobbing work. When he arrived in Buganda in 1942 he found he was too late for the cotton season so he went and sold plantains in Kampala, fetching them on his bicycle and taking them into town to sell. Then in the cotton harvest he transported cotton to the ginnery on his bicycle for Ganda growers. Now he wants to pay a quick visit to West Nile, to come back for one more cotton season, and then go home for good, for he is not strong now and is tired of Buganda.

B. *Careers recorded in Palei, Okoro.*

1. Ukumu went first as a boy with his eldest brother Athowan to Bulindi estate in Bunyoro, cultivating the Europeans' coffee, in 1925. Athowan was a headman there. After six months he returned to West Nile, and because he travelled alone he had to begin paying tax at once, being probably about twenty years old. In 1927 he went to the Roman Catholic mission to be baptised and became a church teacher at Zeu for two years. Then in 1929 he went to Buganda alone, walking to Pakwach, and from Butiaba to Bombo, in seven days. There he found his other brother Abeka, with Ukelo and Avatho, also neighbours and fellow clansmen from home, with one or two elders as well. They did casual work by the month, for, he says, none of the immigrants began growing their own cotton until 1931. They earned about Shs. 30 a month. He returned home in August, 1930. In April, 1933 he again went to Bombo and began to plant his own cotton. There was still no bus to Pakwach, and very few from Butiaba to

Hoima, so they first walked, and then took the bus from Hoima to Kampala for only Shs. 3. After two seasons at Bombo Ukumu returned home in 1935. In 1938 he went to Bombo again until 1943 when he moved to Busunju, which is where he still goes to work. He did not return to West Nile until 1950, except for the briefest of visits, as in 1949 when he was ill. In 1949 he made Shs. 300 with seven bags of cotton, and in 1950 he made Shs. 110 with three bags, hail having damaged the crop. However, he says it is difficult to say accurately how much you make because you do not sell it all at once and besides all the while you are spending some of the money you receive on meat and clothes, so you cannot remember the real total. In spite of his long spells more or less continuously in Buganda he refused to have a *kibanja* on the ground that he was only a wanderer and would be returning home. He paid the official dues and also Shs. 30 to Shs. 50 to his landlord if he got a good harvest, but he refused to pay any money for the initial taking up of land, saying "If you say I must pay, your land can stay where it is! I'll go on to the next! If you let me cultivate I'll give you something at harvest." Ukumu got married during his time as a teacher at Zeu. His wife has born seven children of whom three have died. He did not take his family to Buganda at first, but had them there for part of his long stay from 1938 till 1950.

2. Ucaringa went to Lugazi sugar estate in 1930 and worked there for six months at Shs. 12 a month. In 1931, the year when immigrants began to grow their own cotton, he planted his at Kasawo in Kyagwe. He returned home in 1932 with the clothes he had bought out of his cotton money. He was at this time in the process of marrying but his bride was still at her home. He went to Buganda again in 1933, to Nagalama in Kyagwe, where he did casual work for Ganda from March until June and came home. His bride had eloped elsewhere, and in 1934 he brought home another girl in marriage by elopement. She has born him seven children, of whom two have died. He went to Kyadondo in 1935 and grew cotton for two seasons, returning to West Nile in March, 1937. He brought back no money, but clothes which lasted him till 1939. In those days he could get a good pair of shorts for Shs. 2 and shirts for Sh. 1. In April, 1939 he went to Bulemezi for another two seasons' cotton growing. He got about six bags each year, or Shs. 80 a year, but his crops were damaged by hail. He came home in March, 1941, with clothes which he made to last for ten years. He also brought Shs. 60 with which he bought a bull for Shs. 20 and a goat for Shs. 6 and the rest just frittered away. Ucaringa's father and all his father's brothers died while he was very small and he has always lived with his mother's people. On his first journey in 1930 he travelled with a number of others, both old and young, from his father's and his mother's clan. In 1935, he went with one friend of his father's and one from his mother's clan, and joined very many of the latter when they got to Kyadondo.

3. Udoŋ went to Buganda first as a small boy with Ugena, a neighbour and distant fellow clansman. He claims that he was to assist

Ugena's wife with cooking and clothes washing, Ugena being in the police at Kampala. But after only two weeks Ugena went and drank two bottles of Nubian gin at Luzira and went to sleep soundly. He was not found at his hut the next day and an enquiry followed. Ugena made the excuse of illness, but it was objected "if you were ill how was it that you could not be found at home?" So he was taken to the doctor; they made tests on him and the tests showed alcohol. He was driven out at once, as it were naked, for all the clothes issued to him for his work were taken off him. So they all came back home. Ugena still recounts with pride his services in the police, omitting the manner of his departure. Udoŋ went back to Buganda in about 1942, with two of his father's youngest brothers. He planted cotton with them in Bulemezi, but fell ill and one of them brought him back home after a year. His cotton was picked by others, nine bags, and the money retained by one of his father's brothers. He has never again been to Buganda.

4. ŋjarombo, younger brother of Udoŋ, tried to go to Buganda in 1939, but he was caught going on to the boat at Pakwach without a pass and driven back. He went in the autumn of 1946 to plant cotton, but did not like it and came home after three months and did not go there again.

APPENDIX A

NOTES ON STATISTICS

I. Immigration Figures. P. G. Powesland.

Table I summarises the records kept of the number of migrants entering and departing along the two chief routes in the south and south west of Uganda between 1936 and 1951. Table II shows comparative figures from Belgian sources, and Table III contains statistics of movement along the northern route during the same period.

TABLE I

Annual Numbers of Arrivals and Departures along the South-Western Labour Routes 1936–1951[1]

ARRIVALS	1936	1937	1938*c*	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Via Kakitumba Bridge	—	—	60,464	13,331	71,682	65,194	42,113	38,572
Via Kyaka Ferry ..	4,698	7,683	11,052	11,488	3,342	8,206	26,707	21,008
Total immigrants ..	—*a*	—*b*	71,516*d*	24,819	75,024	73,400	68,820	59,580
DEPARTURES	1936	1937	1938*c*	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
Via Kakitumba Bridge	61,500	28,812	47,776	32,912	20,708	52,388	42,910	22,451
Via Kyaka Ferry ..	45,163	82,841	59,534	64,057	29,797	48,382	50,057	32,003
Total emigrants ..	106,663*a*	111,653*b*	107,310	96,969	50,505	100,770	92,967	54,454

ARRIVALS	1944	1945*e*	1946	1947*g*	1948	1949*i*	1950	1951
Via Kakitumba Bridge	18,546	41,509	38,113	—	—	—	—	—
Via Kyaka Ferry ..	23,581	59,632	100,017	—	—	—	—	—
Total immigrants ..	42,127	101,141	138,130	109,306	88,518	110,897	70,725	86,232
DEPARTURES	1944	1945*e*	1946	1947*g*	1948	1949*i*	1950	1951
Via Kakitumba Bridge	13,272	17,365	24,501	—	—	—	—	—
Via Kyaka Ferry ..	28,446	30,414	36,402	—	—	—	—	—
Total emigrants ..	41,718	47,779*f*	60,903	69,590*h*	100,130	97,357*i*	56,725	56,809

[1] Table I has been derived mainly from the Annual Reports of the Labour Department (formerly the Inspectorate of Labour). These reports have been published for the years 1938 onwards. References to these reports are as follows:—1939, App. II and III; 1940 and 1941, App. I and II; 1942 to 1946, App. A, Tables I–II; 1947, Table VI; 1948, App. X, Table XII; 1949, App. XI, Table I; 1950, para. 29. (The figure 108,000 quoted in this paragraph for 1949 is apparently a misprint for the rounded total of 103,000. (*Cf.* 1949 Report, loc. cit.)) The Labour Department has frequently pointed out that its migrant labour statistics for the South-West Routes are subject to a considerable margin of error, owing to the impossibility of maintaining a complete check on movements across the 180 miles of open frontier between Uganda and the mandated territories. The footnotes below are inserted to facilitate the interpretation of the statistics and to reconcile them, where necessary, with other published figures.

Notes:

a. The Uganda Colonial Annual Report for 1936 (p. 22) states that 87,553 Ruanda and Rundi entered the country in 1936, and that in addition about 19,110 labourers of other tribes came from Tanganyika Territory. In fact, however, both these figures properly refer to numbers of departing emigrants. The figure of 87,553 comprises the number of Ruanda and Rundi returning home across Kyaka Ferry in 1936 (26,053), the number of road passes issued to Ruanda returning via Mbarara and Kabale (41,475) and an estimate (20,025) for "the number working who have not used road passes." The figure 45,163 in the table is 26,053 plus 19,110. The figure 61,500 is 41,475 plus 20,025. Figures for the Kyaka Ferry entry point were derived until 1949 from returns rendered by the D.C., Bukoba. They should be treated with reserve since they include Africans crossing the Ferry other than migrant labourers. From 1949 onwards figures have been obtained at Kyaka Ferry by a representative of the Labour Department and no longer include all passengers indiscriminately.

b. The Uganda Colonial Annual Report for 1937 (p. 26) states that 97,692 labourers came from Ruanda-Urundi to find work and "about 14,000" from Tanganyika. The figure 97,692, however, again relates to statistics of Ruanda and Rundi emigrants. It is evidently based on the sum of 28,812 (road passes issued to emigrants at Mbarara and Kabale) and 68,878 (Ruanda and Rundi returning across Kyaka Ferry). For 1937, however, unlike 1936, no estimate was included of the "number working who have not used road passes," and therefore the figure 28,812 for 1937 is not comparable with that of 61,500 for 1936. The figure 82,841 comprises 68,878 plus 13,963 (the "about 14,000" referred to in the Colonial Annual Report). Kuczynski (Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire, Vol. II, pp. 242–4) was probably not aware of the basis for the Colonial Annual Report figures he quoted.

c. Between 1938 and 1944 the figures for emigrants and immigrants were compiled on a uniform basis. They were derived from returns made to the Labour Office by the Customs Officer at Kakitumba Bridge and from the D.C., Bukoba's returns of Kyaka Ferry crossings, and were published in the Annual Reports of the Inspectorate of Labour (1939, 1940, 1941, 1942) and the Annual Reports of the Labour Department (1943, 1944).

d. The figure of "90,000 labourers . . . from Ruanda-Urundi and about 11,000 from Tanganyika" given in the Uganda Colonial Annual Report for 1938 (p. 23) was apparently an estimate made before detailed figures were available. The difference between 90,000 and 71,516 is probably to be accounted for by an attempt, subsequently discontinued for the years 1938–1946, to estimate the numbers of migrants passing through Kigezi District and by-passing Kakitumba Bridge.

e. From 1945 to 1951 there have been many changes in the methods used for obtaining statistics of immigration and emigration by the South-West Routes. They have generally been made with the object of increasing the accuracy of the results and more particularly of accounting for migrants who enter or leave the country at places other than the main frontier points. A disadvantage of these changes has been the lack of strict comparability between the figures from one year to another. It is probable, too, that at times, particularly in 1945–47, the control of an increased number of strategic points along the routes has meant a slight tendency for some of the returns to overstate numbers through duplicated counting, etc. On the other hand, it is known that in recent times (1951) lorries have been able to bring illegally carried immigrants into the country at night and these have usually escaped the counters. It seems reasonable to accept them, however, as a fairly reliable guide to the changes in the size of the migrant labour flow to and from the Belgian and British mandated territories to the south and south-west.

f. The Uganda Colonial Annual Report for 1947 (p. 12) repeats an error in addition made in the Annual Report of the Labour Department for 1945 (p. 9). The addition of emigrant figures gives a total of 47,779 and not 37,779.

TABLE II

NUMBERS OF RUANDA AND RUNDI LABOURERS ABSENT FROM RUANDA-URUNDI ON SEASONAL MIGRATION TO BRITISH TERRITORY ON 31ST DECEMBER ANNUALLY[1]

	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
From Ruanda ..	24,118	20,949	25,734	24,202	10,763	22,384	13,000	17,770
From Urundi ..	12,811	29,391	19,089	24,601	15,193	38,886	26,122	31,944
Total	36,929	50,340	44,823	48,803	25,956	61,270	39,122	49,714

	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
From Ruanda ..	16,908	6,441	4,784	10,241	8,647	7,504	11,053	12,759
From Urundi ..	29,187	25,006	22,775	27,017	33,340	24,117	16,543	11,470
Total	46,095	31,447	27,559	37,258	41,987	31,621	27,596	24,229

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[1] This table is derived from statistics published in the Plan Décennal pour le Développement Économique et Social du Ruanda-Urundi, 1951 (p. 40) and the Rapport sur l'Administration Belge du Ruanda-Urundi pendant l'année 1950 (p. 139). Quite apart from the wide margins of error to which the migration statistics from both Belgian and British sources are known to be subject, no correspondence in absolute magnitudes between Belgian and British published figures is to be expected. British figures take into account women and children in transit whereas the Belgian figures relate to "travailleurs" only; and the Belgian figures refer only to Ruanda and Rundi actually abroad on the last day of each year. These differences are in consonance with the tendency for the Belgian figures to be markedly lower than the British; on the other hand the Belgian figures include Ruanda and Rundi working in Tanganyika.

g. Statistical sources from 1947 onwards no longer relate only to entry via Kakitumba Bridge and crossings of the Kazera at or near Kyaka Ferry. At present (August, 1952) migrants from the south-west travelling overland are counted at Kyaka Ferry, Merama Hill, Ntungamo and Kikagati.

h. The corresponding total given in the 1947 Annual Report of the Labour Department is 68,690 but examination of the sources of this figure indicates an arithmetical error of 900.

i. The Annual Report of the Labour Department for 1951, in addition to the figures for that year will contain revised estimates of immigration and emigration from and to the mandated territories for 1949 and 1950. The revision results from the inclusion, for the first time, of the numbers of migrants travelling by the lake steamer routes between Port Bell or Entebbe and Bukoba. The increase in the total has been obtained by assuming that 90 per cent. of the third-class passengers travelling between these ports are migrant labourers. The addition to the 1951 figures from this source was 3,589 travelling south and 6,553 travelling north. The table shows the revised figures.

TABLE III

ANNUAL NUMBERS OF MIGRANTS FROM THE WEST NILE AND BORDER AREAS OF THE CONGO AND SUDAN PASSING THROUGH BUTIABA TO AND FROM WORK IN OTHER PARTS OF THE PROTECTORATE[1]

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943
From West Nile District	13,086	13,393	12,824	10,457	12,460	11,896	9,411	4,105
To West Nile District	—*a*	10,683	13,746*a*	12,033	12,221	11,262	11,754	8,188

	1944	1945	1946	1947*b*	1948*b*	1949	1950*b*	1951*b*
From West Nile District	6,431	8,730	11,138	16,633	13,232	20,631	21,677	24,896
To West Nile District	6,438	9,258	11,137	14,535	14,762	22,273	19,978	23,370

[1] As with Table I the principal source for these figures is the Annaul Reports of the Labour Department. References to these reports are as follows:—1938, para. 7; 1939, App. IV; 1940 and 1941, App. III; 1942 to 1946, App. A, Tables III to VI; 1947, Table VI (see Note *b*); 1948, App. X, Table XII (see Note *b*); 1949, App. XI, Table I. The statistics for the northern route, through Butiaba, are probably more accurate than those for the south-west routes since Butiaba with its port and labour camp is a natural turnstile through which the great majority of West Nile travellers must pass. In the 1948 report, however, statistics for both south-west and northern routes were qualified by the statement that "These figures must be accepted with reserve because it is known that a proportion of both immigrants and emigrants avoid, for various reasons, the main routes and therefore the 'tally posts.'" (Report, loc. cit.)

Notes:

a. Annual Reports for 1936 and 1938 do not show numbers returning from work, but the figure inserted for 1938 has been obtained from records in the Labour Office.

b. The Annual Reports for 1947 and 1948 record partial statistics only for movement through Butiaba, and the Annual Report for 1950 gives no precise figures for this route. The complete figures for these years and for 1951 have, however, been obtained from the Labour Department.

II. SOURCES OF STATISTICS USED IN CHAPTER IV. J. M. FORTT.

As described on page 77, the population figures on which Chapter IV is based were derived from three main sources—first, the published 1931 Census material; second, the 1948 census material; and third an unpublished statistical study of the Ruanda and Rundi population distribution in Uganda in 1948 by Mr. and Mrs. Sofer (Miss Ross).

Basis of comparison between 1931 *and* 1948 *populations.*

Several problems arise when an attempt is made to compare data drawn from the 1931 and 1948 censuses.

First, the *geographical units of comparison* differ. Population figures for 1948 were published by *gombolola*, but for 1931 by *saza*, so that the *saza* is the smallest unit of comparison possible. Changes in *saza* boundaries between the censuses, however, complicate attempts at comparison, more particularly as the exact numbers of people involved in the transfers are not known. The following *saza* were affected:—

Buddu lost part of its *gombolola* Mumyuka to Mawogola.

Kabula lost part of its *gombolola* Mumyuka to Mawogola.

Sese lost Kome Island to Kyagwe.

Mawogola received its present *gombolola* Sabadu from Buddu and part of its present *gombolola* Sabagabo from Kabula.

Kyagwe received Kome Island from Sese.

Bulemezi and *Buruli* exchanged *gombolola*; Mutuba I, Bulemezi becoming Mumyuka, Buruli; and Mumyuka, Buruli becoming Mutuba I, Bulemezi.

A rough estimate of the population changes involved has been made later in Chapter IV.

Second, direct *comparison by tribe* is difficult in certain cases. Unlike the 1948 census, the 1931 census gave no returns for the Rundi. It has been assumed, however, that the term "Banyaruanda" in the 1931 census included the Rundi also. (The Report of the 1936 Committee of Enquiry stated "The term (Banyaruanda) is normally inclusive of natives of Urundi.") It is therefore possible to compare the distribution of the two tribes taken together, but not separately.

Another problem is the treatment of the Nyoro in Buwekula, Buyaga, Bugangazzi and Singo *saza*. The 1931 census counted nearly all the Nyoro as Ganda; the 1948 census distinguished between the two tribes. However, the Nyoro inhabitants of Mubende and Singo are technically natives of Buganda, since the land on which they live was incorporated with Buganda in 1900. Consequently there is no question of their "immigration" into Buganda. In order to make a comparison of population within the *saza* concerned, therefore, all Nyoro shown in both censuses in these *saza* have been regarded as Ganda for the purposes of this report.

An added difficulty in Buwekula, Buyaga, and Bugangazzi arises from the fact that the 1948 returns were felt to be inaccurate and a recount was taken in 1950. By that time *gombolola* amalgamations had taken place in two of the three *saza*. Thus the proportionate tribal distributions in 1950 given in "Geographical and Tribal Studies" cannot be applied to the 1948 total population figures by *gombolola* for these two *saza*, Buyaga and Bugangazzi. Tribal distributions returned in 1950 can be and have been applied, however, to the 1948 total population of each *saza* and in this way an approximate 1948 tribal distribution has been estimated.

The Nkole and Hima in Kabula and Mawogola *saza* also present a problem. Just as part of Bunyoro was annexed to Buganda, so Kabula *saza* in Masaka District was formerly a possession of Ankole, but was handed over to Buganda because a certain number of Ganda lived in it. There is therefore a large proportion of Nkole and Hima living in this *saza*; and many members of the same tribes live in the adjacent *saza* of Mawogola. But here there is a difficulty in counting all the Nkole and Hima as Ganda, in that the Hima are essentially a cattle-keeping people who practise local transhumance from Ankole to Buganda and back to Ankole in search of grass and water; while some of the immigrant Nkole are also cattle-herders and others seasonal visitors to Buganda, coming in to grow cotton. It is of course not possible from the census returns to discover which of the Nkole and Hima are permanent residents in Buganda and which are not. For this reason none of them, even in Kabula, have here been regarded as Ganda and they have therefore been classed as "immigrants." This accounts for the very high proportion of immigrants to total population in western Masaka District, shown in Map 3.

The 1931 census gave full details of tribal distribution by *saza*, except in the case of 5,756 Africans residing on premises owned by non-native householders. In 1948, 5,461 persons included in the total African population figures for the three districts of Buganda were returned as "unallocated" and their distribution was not given by *saza* or *gombolola*, so that they are not included in the comparison of population by *saza*. In addition, it is not possible to calculate the exact number of any one tribe in any *saza* from the published 1948 census material, except in the case of the Ganda,[1] because only major tribal distributions in each *gombolola* making up the *saza* is given. As a result, a small percentage of people in nearly every *gombolola* and therefore every *saza* remains unclassified tribally. Full details are available, however, for the Ruanda and Rundi, taken from the Ross-Sofer report.[2]

Third, *comparison by age* presents difficulties because the 1931 census took 18 years and over as the dividing line for adults, and the 1948 census 16 years and over, so that comparison between adults and children is not possible.

Taking all these factors into account, it is found possible to compare by *saza* figures for total population, Ganda, Ruanda and Rundi together, and all other tribes together, between 1931 and 1948, excluding the 5,756 Africans residing on non-native premises in 1931, and the 5,461 unallocated Africans returned in 1948. It is also possible to compare male-female distribution on the same lines.

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[1] There are discrepancies in the 1948 published census figures of Ganda for Mengo and Masaka Districts respectively. In the table "Main Tribes of District" for Mengo District, the total number of Ganda is given as 572,168; yet in the analysis by *gombolola* for the same district the Ganda total 570,133. There is therefore a discrepancy of 2,035 persons. In the table "Main Tribes of the District" for Masaka District, the Ganda total 197,446; yet the analysis by *gombolola* gives a total of 203,737, so that there is a more serious discrepancy of 6,291 persons, amounting to some 3 per cent. of the total shown in "Main Tribes of the District." The figures given in the analysis by *gombolola* have been used throughout this report, those for Mubende District being approximate.

[2] Op. cit.

The accuracy of the 1931 *and* 1948 *censuses.*

The 1948 census figures were obtained in such a way that the schedules may be assumed to be reasonably accurate.[1] But doubts have been raised over the 1931 census figures and it is important to try to assess the validity of the material as a basis of comparison with the 1948 figures. Returns in 1931 were made by "various native authorities." In general information was collected for each estate within each *muruka* and the information returned on a group schedule for the whole *muruka*. Kuczynski[2] estimated that in Buganda most schedules must have included at least 300 names. There is obviously room for inaccuracy in a group return of this kind, and C. J. Martin[3] has pointed out three main causes for possible inaccuracies: (*a*) omission of areas; (*b*) double counting of the population; (*c*) mistakes due to the inability of enumerators to understand their task. Contact with present Ganda *miruka* chiefs has shown, however, that they possess a remarkable knowledge of the people living within their *muruka*. It is rarely that, on being told the name of a peasant in his *muruka* a chief is unable to give his tribe, present whereabouts, acreage of land, etc. It would seem possible that in Buganda, at least, group returns may have been more accurate for this reason than in the rest of Uganda.

Kuczynski,[4] however, questions the accuracy of the 1931 census to an even greater extent than Martin, who has estimated an inaccuracy of up to 10 per cent. for Uganda by showing figures that are too low. For instance, he states that the apparent increase of total African population for all Uganda of 21·3 per cent. between 1921 and 1931 must mean either that the 1921 returns were far too low or the 1931 returns far too high, since immigration could not account for such a high percentage increase. But a comparison between the 1931 and 1948 figures shows a population increase for all Uganda of 39·06 per cent., while figures taken for Buganda alone show an increase of 49·6 per cent. Following Kuczynski's reasoning, this would indicate that either the 1948 figures are very much too high, which is unlikely; or that the 1931 figures are very much too low, which, though supporting Martin's theory, is in contradiction to Kuczynski's supposition that they were too high in view of the population increase of 21·3 per cent. between 1921 and 1931. It is not possible to check conclusively from other records the validity of either the 1931 or 1948 figures.[1] However, there remains the possibility of immigration on a much larger scale than Kuczynski ever envisaged. As far as Buganda itself is concerned, it must be remembered that immigration is not restricted to tribes outside the Protectorate, but that many "immigrants" who are natives of Uganda but not of Buganda can and do enter Buganda without check or hindrance. It is significant that if the returns for 1931 and 1948 are analysed into Ganda and other tribes, the Ganda are found to have increased during the 17-year period by only 13·7 per cent., while the other tribes nearly trebled in number, the exact percentage being 285·5.

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[1] A full account of the preparations made over a period of 18 months prior to the Census and of the methods used appeared in "The East African Population Census, 1948—Planning and Enumeration," C. J. Martin, *Population Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 3, December, 1948.

[2] R. R. Kuczynski, *Demographic Survey of the British Colonial Empire*, Vol. 2, O.U.P., 1948.

[3] Op. cit., C. J. Martin.

[4] Op. cit., R. R. Kuczynski.

Other of Kuczynski's objections to the 1931 census can be met if the possibility of large-scale immigration into Buganda is accepted. For example, the drop in the ratio of females to 100 males from 108 in 1921 to 96·3 in 1931 which Kuczynski questioned is understandable when it is realised that in 1931 the ratio of Ganda females to 100 males was 114, while the ratio of other tribes females to 100 males was 25·6, bringing the total ratio down to 96·3. Here again, the settled population showed a continuation of the previous conditions; and it was the immigrant population, coming into the Province as temporary labourers and leaving their women behind, who upset the previous balance. The disproportionate increase in the number of males in Buganda as compared to the number of females between 1921 and 1931 is explained on the same lines.

To sum up, it may be that the 1931 census figures err by anything up to 10 per cent. on the low side, although for Buganda it is possible that the inaccuracy is not so great. At the same time there is no reason to doubt the main trends that they help to indicate when taken in conjunction both with the 1921 and the 1948 figures; namely that a large immigrant population, much larger than Kuczynski thought possible, was present in Buganda in 1931, even though it may have been almost entirely a temporary population.

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[1] A major difficulty in assessing these possibilities lies in the incompleteness and inaccuracy of other records available. The records of emigration of Tanganyika, Ruanda and Urundi natives are more complete than those for immigration, which is misleading. The record of births and deaths in Buganda from 1931 to 1948 for all Africans shows an increase of births over deaths of 77,154, while comparison between the 1931 and 1948 figures for Mengo and Masaka Districts alone shows an increase in the Ganda population *only* of 105,939 or 28,785 more than the addition to the whole African population of Buganda shown by the birth and death records—an increase which if correct can only be accounted for by births since there is no large emigrant population from which Ganda might have returned to their own country to swell the total numbers. (In 1931, 4·17 per cent. of the total Ganda population of the Protectorate were living outside Buganda, while in 1948 this figure had increased to 5·79 per cent. In both years the majority of these emigrants were found in Ankole, where in 1931, 13,721 were registered and in 1948, 12,037. This is an old settlement, dating from the religious wars. The colony of some 4,800 Ganda in Lango in 1931 remained steady as in 1948 the published census returns, which are incomplete, showed 4,790 Ganda in Lango. The most noticeable increase was in Busoga, where in 1931, 2,732 Ganda were reported to be living, while in 1948, 9,090 were registered.)

APPENDIX B.

THE LABOUR CAMP SURVEYS

NOTE ON THE SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE.

Immigrants using the Government transit camps are lined up in the evening in order that they may be counted. This practice was used as a basis for the selection of the sample. The interviewer was given a set of numbered cards which he drew at random out of a bag. Having thus picked a number, he then counted every sixth man from the number chosen. In the case of the women, who went through in much smaller numbers, all the women who passed through the camp during the period of the investigation were interviewed until 100 had been reached.

TABLE I. TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by tribes

Tribe	Immi-grants	Emi-grants	Total
Ruanda . .	34	53	87
Rundi	2	10	12
Ziba	1	—	1
Subi	—	—	—
Ha	—	—	—
Zinja	—	—	—
Total	37	63	100

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult males by tribes

Tribe	Immi-grants	Emi-grants	Total
Ruanda . .	4	3	7
Rundi	75	9	84
Ziba	—	—	—
Subi	5	—	5
Ha	2	1	3
Zinja	1	—	1
Total	87	13	100

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by tribes

Tribe	Immi-grants	Emi-grants	Total
Ruanda . .	45	45	90
Rundi	5	5	10
Hangaza . .	—	—	—
Subi	—	—	—
Ha	—	—	—
Total	50	50	100

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult females by tribes

Tribe	Immi-grants	Emi-grants	Total
Ruanda . .	6	1	7
Rundi	34	48	82
Hangaza . .	3	4	7
Subi	2	—	2
Ha	2	—	2
Total	47	53	100

TABLE II. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by district of origin

District	Total
Ruanda Urundi	
Muhinga	4
Kigali	12
Astrida	8
Rukira	7
Ruhengeri	12
Nyanza	41
Kisenyi	5
Gozi	7
Byumba	1
Kitega	2
Ruyigi	—
Tanganyika Territory	
Bukoba	1
Kibondo	—
Ngara	—
Kigoma	—
Biharamulo	—
Total	100

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult males by district of origin

District	Total
Ruanda Urundi	
Muhinga	22
Kigali	—
Astrida	—
Rukira	7
Ruhengeri	—
Nyanza	—
Kisenyi	—
Gozi	5
Byumba	1
Kitega	6
Ruyigi	50
Tanganyika Territory	
Bukoba	—
Kibondo	2
Ngara	5
Kigoma	1
Biharamulo	1
Total	100

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by district of origin

District	Total
Ruanda Urundi	
Muhinga	6
Kigali	29
Astrida	5
Rukira	10
Ruhengeri	3
Nyanza	35
Kisenyi	2
Gozi	5
Byumba	5
Kitega	—
Ruyigi	—
Tanganyika Territory	
Kibondo	—
Ngara	—
Biharamulo	—
Total	100

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult females by district of origin

District	Total
Ruanda Urundi	
Muhinga	52
Kigali	3
Astrida	—
Rukira	4
Ruhengeri	—
Nyanza	—
Kisenyi	—
Gozi	5
Byumba	—
Kitega	14
Ruyigi	9
Tanganyika Territroy	
Kibondo	2
Ngara	5
Biharamulo	6
Total	100

TABLE III. AGE

1. KABALE

Age and sex distribution of sample population

Age category	No. of males	No. of females	Total
Under 16	2	29	31
16–20	19	15	34
21–30	53	44	97
31–40	20	19	39
Over 40	6	13	19
Unstated	2	9	11
Total	102	129	231

N.B. The inclusion of children under 16 in this table brings the total number of males and females above the totals for adult males and females given in the other tables.

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Age and sex distribution of sample population

Age category	No of males	No. of females	Total
Under 16	45	44	89
16–20	21	29	50
21–30	63	57	120
31–40	10	6	16
Over 40	6	8	14
Unstated	—	—	—
Total	145	144	289

N.B. The inclusion of children under 16 in this table brings the total number of males and females above the totals for adult males and females given in the other tables.

TABLE IV. MARITAL STATE

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by marital status

Status	Total
Married	64
Unmarried	35
Widower	1
Total	100

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult males by marital status

Status	Total
Married	59
Unmarried	38
Widower	3
Total	100

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by marital status

Status	Total
Married	89
Unmarried	6
Widow	5
Total	100

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult females by marital status

Status	Total
Married	87
Unmarried	9
Widow	4
Total	100

TABLE V. COMPOSITION OF PARTY

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by parties in which they were travelling

Composition of party	Total
Travelling alone	4
Travelling in a party of 2 men ..	27
Travelling in party of 3 men ..	24
Travelling in party of 4 men ..	20
Travelling in party of 5–9 men ..	10
Travelling in party of 10–30 men	—
Travelling with women, no children	7
Travelling with women and children	8
Total	100

Note. People sometimes start alone and pick up companions. Also small parties may grow larger *en route.*

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult males by parties in which they were travelling

Composition of party	Total
Travelling alone	3
Travelling in party of 2 men ..	12
Travelling in party of 3 men ..	7
Travelling in party of 4 men ..	18
Travelling in party of 5–9 men ..	29
Travelling in party of 10–30 men	14
Travelling with women, no children	4
Travelling with women and children	13
Total	100

Note. People sometimes start alone and pick up companions. Also small parties may grow larger *en route.*

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by number of children accompanying them

Number of children	Total
Accompanied by 1 child ..	28
Accompanied by 2 children ..	20
Accompanied by 3 children ..	6
Accompanied by 4–6 children ..	—
Unaccompanied by children ..	46
Total	100

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult females by number of children accompanying them

Number of children	Total
Accompanied by 1 child ..	25
Accompanied by 2 children ..	11
Accompanied by 3 children ..	5
Accompanied by 4–6 children ..	4
Unaccompanied by children ..	55
Total	100

TABLE VI. MODE OF TRANSPORT

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult male emigrants by mode of transport used from home to place of work for visit now being completed

Mode of transport	Total
Wholly by foot	13
Wholly by bus	1
Part foot, part bus	37
Unstated	12
Total	63

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult male emigrants by mode of transport used from home to place of work for visit now being completed

Mode of transport	Total
Wholly by foot	9
Wholly by bus	—
Part foot, part bus	4
Unstated	—
Total	13

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by modes of transport used on first and second visits

Mode of transport	Total
Wholly by foot both times ..	12
Wholly by lorry both times ..	1
Part foot, part bus both times ..	14
Wholly foot 1st time, part foot part bus 2nd time	12
Part foot part bus 1st time, wholly foot 2nd time	—
Wholly bus 1st time, wholly foot 2nd time	1
Unstated	16
Total	56

Note. 44 men had not completed their second visit and are therefore not included in the above table.

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult males by modes of transport used on first and second visits

Mode of transport	Total
Wholly by foot both times ..	52
Wholly by lorry both times ..	—
Part foot, part bus or train both times	3
Wholly foot 1st time, part foot part bus or steamer 2nd time ..	8
Part foot part bus 1st time, wholly foot 2nd time	3
Wholly bus 1st time, wholly foot 2nd time	—
Unstated	—
Total	66

Note. 34 men had not completed their secon visit and are therefore not included in the above table.

3. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by modes of Transport used on first and second visits

Mode of transport	Total
Wholly by foot both times ..	2
Wholly by lorry both times ..	1
Part foot, part bus both times ..	9
Wholly foot 1st time, part foot part bus 2nd time	17
Part foot part bus 1st time, wholly foot 2nd time	1
Part foot part bus 1st time, wholly lorry 2nd time	—
Total	30

Note. 70 women had not completed their second visit and are therefore not included in the above table.

KYAKA FERRY 3.

Distribution of adult females by modes of transport used on first and second visits

Mode of transport	Total
Wholly by foot both times ..	3
Wholly by lorry both times ..	—
Part foot, part bus or steamer both times	5
Wholly foot 1st time, part foot part bus or steamer 2nd time ..	5
Part foot part bus 1st time, wholly foot 2nd time	—
Part foot part bus 1st time, wholly lorry 2nd time	1
Total	14

Note. 86 women had not completed their second visit and are therefore not included in the above table.

TABLE VII. NUMBER OF VISITS

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by number of visits they have paid

Number of visits	Immi-grants	Emi grants	Total
On 1st visit ..	12	22	34
2nd visit ..	10	23	33
3rd visit ..	8	13	21
4th visit ..	4	3	7
5th visit ..	1	1	2
6th visit ..	—	—	—
7th visit and over.. ..	2	1	3
Total	37	63	100

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult males by number of visits they have paid

Number of visits	Immi-grants	Emi-grants	Total
On 1st visit ..	10	3	13
2nd visit ..	21	4	25
3rd visit ..	18	2	20
4th visit ..	17	2	19
5th visit ..	10	1	11
6th visit ..	5	1	6
7th visit and over ..	6	—	6
Total	87	13	100

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by number of visits they have paid

Number of visits	Immi-grants	Emi-grants	Total
1st visit ..	17	33	50
2nd visit ..	20	12	32
3rd visit ..	11	2	13
4th visit ..	2	2	4
5th visit ..	—	1	1
Total	50	50	100

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult females by number of visits they have paid

Number of visits	Immi-grants	Emi-grants	Total
1st visit ..	31	43	74
2nd visit ..	12	10	22
3rd visit ..	3	—	3
4th visit ..	1	—	1
5th visit ..	—	—	—
Total	47	53	100

TABLE VIII. TIME SPENT

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by average number of months completed on first and second visits

First visit			Second visit		
No. of men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age	No. of men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age
88	1230	13·98	56	692	12·36

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult males by average number of months completed on first and second vistis

First visit			Second visit		
No. of men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age	No. of men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age
90	686	7·62	66	648	9·82

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by average number of months completed on first and second visits

First visit			Second visit		
No. of wo-men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age	No. of Wo-men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age
83	4145	49·94	30	1014	33·80

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult females by average number of months completed on first and second visits

First visit			Second visit		
No. of wo-men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age	No. of Wo-men	Months com-pleted	Aver-age
69	3294	47·74	14	738	52·71

TABLE IX. MOTIVES FOR VISIT

1. Kabale

Distribution of adult males by stated motives for present visit

Stated motives	Total
Labour obligations in home area	10
Looking for better employment and pay	13
Payment of bride-wealth	6
Taxes	20
Visiting relatives	9
Earning money for domestic use	29
For settlement	13
Total	100

Kyaka Ferry 1.

Distribution of adult males by stated motives for present visit

Stated motives	Total
Labour obligations in home area	1
Looking for better employment and pay	1
Payment of bride-wealth	13
Taxes	39
Visiting relatives	3
Earning money for domestic use	25
For settlement	18
Total	100

2. Kabale

Distribution of adult females by stated motives for present visit

Stated motives	Total
Accompanying her husband	71
To look for a husband	4
To stay with relatives	9
Unstated	16
Total	100

Kyaka Ferry 2.

Distribution of adult females by stated motives for present visit

Stated motives	Total
Accompanying her husband	84
To look for a husband	3
To stay with relatives	13
Unstated	—
Total	100

TABLE X. EMPLOYMENT

1. Kabale

Distribution of adult males by nature of first employment

Nature of first employment	Total
Working for Ganda farmers	56
Working on European or Indian estates	19
Working for Government	4
Other forms of employment	8
Cultivating own plot	1
Unstated (going on 1st visit)	12
Total	100

Kyaka Ferry 1.

Distribution of adult males by nature of first employment

Nature of first employment	Total
Working for Ganda farmers	75
Working on European or Indian estates	13
Working for Government	—
Other forms of employment	2
Cultivating own plot	—
Unstated (going on 1st visit)	10
Total	100

2. Kabale

Distribution of adult males by successive nature of employments on first and second visits

First visit	Second visit	Total
Ganda farmer	Ganda farmer	28
Ganda farmer	Own plot	5
Ganda farmer	European or Indian estate	3
Ganda farmer	Government	3
European or Indian estate	European or Indian estate	7
European or Indian estate	Ganda farmer	3
European or Indian estate	Other	1
Government	European or Indian estate	1
Government	Ganda farmer	1
Other	Other	2
Other	Government	2
Other	Ganda farmer	—
Total		56

Kyaka Ferry 2.

Distribution of adult males by successive nature of employments on first and second visits

First visit	Second visit	Total
Ganda farmer	Ganda farmer	48
Ganda farmer	Own plot	5
Ganda farmer	European or Indian estate	4
Ganda farmer	Munyaruanda farmer	1
European or Indian estate	European or Indian estate	3
European or Indian estate	Ganda farmer	3
European or Indian estate	Other	—
Government	European or Indian estate	—
Government	Ganda farmer	—
Other	Other	1
Other	Government	—
Other	Ganda farmer	1
Total		66

TABLE X—*continued*

3. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by occupation of relatives with whom they stayed

Occupation	First visit	Second visit
Cultivators of own plots	43	16
Porters	29	6
Porter then own plot ..	—	—
Semi-skilled	10	5
Unstated	1	3
Total	83	30

KYAKA FERRY 3.

Distribution of adult females by occupation of relatives with whom they stayed

Occupation	First visit	Second visit
Cultivators of own plots ..	63	13
Porters	3	—
Porter then own plot ..	2	—
Semi-skilled	1	1
Unstated	—	—
Total	69	14

TABLE XI. WAGES

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult male emigrants by total monthly earnings received during present visit

Wage rate	Total
Under Shs. 15 per month ..	—
Shs. 15 and less than 20 ..	14
Shs. 20 and less than 25 ..	21
Shs. 25 and less than 30 ..	12
Shs. 30 and less than 35 ..	4
Shs. 35 and less than 45 ..	3
Shs. 45 and less than 50 ..	2
Own plot	5
Piece work	1
Unstated	1
Total	63

Note. During their present visits, 2 emigrants received rises, (1) from Shs. 26 to Shs. 31, and (2) from Shs. 30 to Shs. 32. In the table they are recorded as receiving the higher of these rates.

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult male emigrants by total monthly earnings received during present visit

Wage rate	Total
Under Shs. 15 per month ..	—
Shs. 15 and less than 20 ..	1
Shs. 20 and less than 25 ..	1
Shs. 25 and less than 30 ..	4
Shs. 30 and less than 35 ..	1
Shs. 35 and less than 45 ..	—
Shs. 45 and less than 50 ..	—
Own plot	6
Piece work	—
Unstated	—
Total	13

Note. During their present visits, 2 emigrants received rises (1) from Shs. 7 to Shs. 30, and (2) from Shs. 23 to Shs. 30. In the table they are recorded as receiving the higher of these rates.

TABLE XII. FUTURE PLANS

1. KABALE

Distribution of adult males by type of future plans

Future plans	Total
Return to live in own home ..	72
Settle in Buganda	28
Total	100

KYAKA FERRY 1.

Distribution of adult males by type of future plans

Future plans	Total
Return to live in own home ..	66
Settle in Buganda	34
Total	100

2. KABALE

Distribution of adult females by type of future plans

Future plans	Total
Return to live in own home ..	14
Settle in Buganda	86
Total	100

KYAKA FERRY 2.

Distribution of adult females by type of future plans

Future plans	Total
Return to live in own home ..	2
Settle in Buganda	98
Total	100

APPENDIX C.

THE VILLAGE SURVEYS

1. To get the following data all the householders, whether male or female, were interviewed unless they were absent on prolonged visits. Wives were interviewed instead of their absent husbands on one or two occasions when they seemed particularly able to give the data required.

2. Ganda and immigrant householders were asked the same questions and the data recorded on the same form.

3. Immigrant labourers were interviewed separately and the data they gave as to wages and conditions of work often served as a useful check on that given by their employers. These data are summarised in Appendix D. Information on labourers was not included unless the man in question was actually interviewed personally and hence the figures given in this Appendix are on the low side in one or two instances.

BUSIRO. (Villages of Sesiriba, Musisi, Mabanga)

TABLE I

Tribal Distribution

Tribe	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ruanda	3		6		2		11	
Rundi	10		30		11		51	
Ankole	9		1		2		12	
Kiga	2		—		—		2	
Subi	1		—		—		1	
Nyamwezi	—		3		—		3	
Alur	1		4		18		23	
Toro	1		1		—		2	
Luo	—		5		—		5	
Nyoro	—		—		3		3	
Swahili	2		—		—		2	
Total foreigners	29	42·6	50	76·9	36	63·2	115	60·5
Ganda	39	57·4	15	23·1	21	36·8	75	39·5
	68	100·0	65	100·0	57	100·0	190	100·0

4. Householders were asked to estimate the size of their complete holding (*kibanja*), that is to say the area used for their house site, their food crops and their cash crops. It is realised that these estimates are

far from accurate as an informal test carried out in the case of one village by Major Edwards of the Agricultural Department showed. Householders tended to grade their plot as very small, (1½ to 2 acres); small (3 acres); fairly large (5 acres); and above that in round figures such as 10 acres, 15 acres or 20 acres. However, the figures are included here (Table V) because they make it possible to make a rough comparison between the plot sizes in the seven villages, all calculated in the same way, and between the average size of holding of a Ganda and of a foreigner.

It is not thought that the figures estimated are at all impossible ones either. The Agricultural Department does not estimate the size of total holding in any area but only the estimated acreages of particular crops, but the Tothill surveys published in 1938 give for Kawoko, a village in Musale *gombolola*, Buddu, an average holding of 7·2 acres (1·7 acres economic crops; 2·7 acres food crops; and the rest for house site, resting land, etc.) In the case of Luwoko, a village in the same

TABLE II

PLACE OF ORIGIN

1. COUNTY OF ORIGIN OF GANDA

County	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Born in the same village ..	16	41·0	1	6·7	5	23·8	22	29·3
Born in same county ..	11	28·2	5	33·3	4	19·0	20	26·7
Born in other counties ..	12	30·8	8	53·3	7	33·4	27	36·0
Not stated	—	—	1	6·7	5	23·8	6	8·0
Totals	39	100·0	15	100·0	21	100·0	75	100·0

2. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGNERS

Country	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Born in other territories	16	55·2	48	96·0	13	36·1	77	66·9
Born in Uganda, outside Buganda	12	41·4	2	4·0	22	61·1	36	31·3
Born in Buganda ..	1	3·4	—	—	—	—	1	0·9
Not stated	—	—	—	—	1	2·8	1	0·9
Totals	29	100·0	50	100·0	36	100·0	115	100·0

gombolola, chosen for the present survey, the figure for Ganda householders is 7·1 acres. Again in Lubogo, a village near Entebbe surveyed by the Tothill team, the size of the average total holding is given as 6 acres. In the present survey done in Busiro villages not far from this area, the *kibanja* holding is given as 5·8 acres for Ganda householders.

5. The roughly estimated income from cotton and coffee given in Table VII was obtained by asking the number of bags sold per year. It is likely to be an under- rather than an over-estimate. Other crops sold such as beans, maize or bananas are not listed here.

TABLE III

MARRIAGE

Marital status	Gombolola Mumyuka		Gombolola Mutuba III	Total
	Sesiriba	Musisi	Mabanga	
No. of married Ganda . .	31	7	11	49
No. of Ganda married to foreign women	—	—	—	—
No. of married immigrants	17	34	19	70
No. of immigrants married to Ganda women . .	—	4	2	6

TABLE IV

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Education and degree of literacy	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
No. who have attended school whether still literate or not . .	14	6	3	10	4	7	21	23
Able to read and write	11	4	3	6	2	5	16	15
Reads but cannot write	4	2	—	4	6	4	10	10
Cannot read or write	15	12	9	34	7	27	31	73
Not stated	9	11	3	6	6	—	18	17
Total	39	29	15	50	21	36	75	115

TABLE V

TENANTS

1. CUSTOMARY TENANTS

Number of tenants and size of plot	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
No of customary tenants (*kibanja* holders)	34	15	11	41	21	19	66	75
% of customary tenants to total Ganda or immigrant population . .	87·2	51·7	73·3	82·0	100·0	52·8	88·0	65·2
Total area in acres[1] . .	165·5	56·0	84·0	146·5	102·0	79·0	351·5	281·5
Average[1]	4·9	3·7	7·7	3·6	4·9	4·2	5·8	3·9

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[1] The size of *kibanja* was not given for 5 Ganda and 3 immigrants in Mabanga. The area in acres and average size in acres for Mabanga therefore exclude these 8 *bibanja*.

Figures for acreages were given verbally to the investigators and no attempt was made during the survey to check by measuring plots. These figures are given merely to indicate the (estimated) difference in acreage between Ganda and foreigners.

2. DISTRIBUTION OF CUSTOMARY TENANTS BY NUMBER OF YEARS ON PLOT

Years	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
0–5 years	4	6	4	21	5	15	13	42
6–10 years	11	2	2	9	2	1	15	12
11–20 years	7	4	3	2	8	2	18	8
Over 20 years . .	5	—	—	—	5	—	10	—
Not stated	7	3	2	9	1	1	10	13
Total	34	15	11	41	21	19	66	75

TABLE VI

IMMIGRANT CULTIVATORS

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE CUSTOMARY TENANTS, SEASONAL TENANTS OR LABOURERS

Cultivators	Gombolola Mumyuka		Gombolola Mutuba III	Total
	Sesiriba	Musisi	Mabanga	
Customary tenants . .	15	41	19	75
Seasonal tenants . .	2	2	10	14
Labourers	12	7	6	25
Not stated	—	—	1	1
Total	29	50	36	115

TABLE VII

INCOME

ROUGH ESTIMATE OF INCOME FROM COTTON AND COFFEE SALES

Crop sold	G.	I.	Proceeds	G.	I.
				Sh. c.	Sh. c.
Average No. lb. of cotton per grower	620	390	Average proceeds	204 50	128 70
Average No. lb. of coffee per grower	455	221	Average proceeds	182 00	88 40

TABLE VIII

PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Previous occupation	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
Cultivator	24	24	10	30	—	22	34	76
Government. . . .	2	—	—	1	—	—	2	1
Industry—European or Asian	3	2	1	—	—	—	4	2
Industry—African . .	3	—	1	3	—	—	4	3
Domestic	3	2	1	6	—	1	4	9
Army.	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Other.	3	—	—	2	3	—	6	2
Not stated	—	1	2	8	18	13	20	22
Total	39	29	15	50	21	36	75	115

TABLE IX

Other Sources of Income

Numbers with other Sources of Income

Sources of income	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	G.	I.	G	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
Trade	7	—	2	4	1	—	10	4
Jobbing Labour ..	2	4	—	10	—	17	2	31
Cattle	1	—	2	—	—	1	3	1
Beer	2	1	4	—	—	—	6	1
Total	12	5	8	14	1	18	21	37

TABLE X

Visits

Number of Immigrants by Number of Visits they have made

Visits	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1st visit	14	48·3	20	40·0	21	58·3	55	47·8
2nd visit	8	27·6	14	28·0	5	13·9	27	23·5
3rd visit	2	6·9	9	18·0	4	11·1	15	13·0
4th visit	—	—	3	6·0	1	2·8	4	3·5
5th visit	3	10·3	1	2·0	2	5·55	6	5·3
Over 5 visits	—	—	3	6·0	2	5·55	5	4·3
Not stated	1	3·45	—	—	1	2·8	2	1·7
Born in Buganda ..	1	3·45	—	—	—	—	1	0·9
Total	29	100·0	50	100·0	36	100·0	115	100·0

TABLE XI

FUTURE PLANS

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY STATED FUTURE PLANS

Future plans	Gombolola Mumyuka				Gombolola Mutuba III		Total	
	Sesiriba		Musisi		Mabanga			
	No.	% total immig.	No.	% total immig.	No.	% total immig.	No.	% total immig.
To remain	17	58·65	26	52·0	15	41·65	58	50·4
To go back	3	10·3	2	4·0	10	27·8	15	13·05
Plans not stated	9	31·05	22	44·0	11	30·55	42	36·55
Total	29	100·0	50	100·0	36	100·0	115	100·0

TABLE XII

EMPLOYMENT OF IMMIGRANTS

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT ON 1ST AND 2ND VISITS

Employment	Gombolola Mumyuka		Gombolola Mutuba III	Total
	Sesiriba	Musisi	Mabanga	
1st Visit				
African employer	20	32	10	62
European or Asian employer	4	5	5	14
Kibanja or *kupangisa*	1	10	16	27
Not stated	3	3	5	11
Total	28[1]	50	36	114[1]
2nd Visit				
African employer	7	16	3	26
European or Asian employer	2	4	—	6
Kibanja or *kupangisa*	4	10	9	23
Not stated	—	—	3	3
Total	13	30	15	58

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[1] One "foreigner" in Sesiriba was born in Buganda.

KYAGWE (LUGALA VILLAGE)

TABLE I

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

Tribe	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	No.	%
Ruanda	8	
Rundi	7	
Toro	1	
Gishu	19	
Kedi	5	
Soga	2	
Total Foreigners	42	48·8
Ganda	44	51·2
Total	86	100·0

TABLE II

PLACE OF ORIGIN

1. COUNTY OF ORIGIN OF GANDA

County	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	No.	%
Born in same village	13	29·5
Born in same county	19	43·2
Born in other counties	12	27·3
Total	44	100·0

2. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGNERS

Country	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	No.	%
Born in other territories	13	31·0
Born in Uganda (outside Buganda)	27	64·3
Born in Buganda	2	4·7
Total	42	100·0

TABLE III

MARRIAGE

Marital Status	Gombolola Mutuba VII
	Lugala
Number of married Ganda	24
Number of Ganda married to foreign women	1
Number of married immigrants ..	27
Number of immigrants married to Ganda women	2

TABLE IV

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Education and degree of literacy	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	Ganda	Immigrants
Number who have attended school whether still literate or not	11	9
Able to read and write	12	8
Reads but cannot write	12	3
Cannot read or write	20	31
Totals	44	42

TABLE V

TENANTS

1. CUSTOMARY TENANTS

Number of tenants and size of plot	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	Ganda	Immigrants
Number of customary tenants (*kibanja* holders)	34	26
Percentage of customary tenants to total Ganda or Immigrant population	77·3	61·9
Total area in acres[1]	138	108
Average acres	4·1	4·2

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[1] Figures for acreages were given verbally to the investigators and no attempt was made during the survey to check by measuring plots. These figures are given merely to indicate the (estimated) difference in acreage between Ganda and foreigners.

TABLE V—*continued*

2. DISTRIBUTION OF CUSTOMARY TENANTS BY NUMBER OF YEARS ON PLOT

Years	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	Ganda	Immigrants
0–5 years	11	8
6–10 years	6	2
11–20 years	5	5
Over 20 years	7	7
Unstated	5	4
Total	34	26

TABLE VI

IMMIGRANT CULTIVATORS

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS WHO ARE CUSTOMARY TENANTS, SEASONAL TENANTS OR LABOURERS

Cultivators	Gombolola Mutuba VII
	Lugala
Customary tenants	26
Seasonal tenants	5
Labourers	8
Not stated	3
Total	42

TABLE VII

INCOME

ROUGH ESTIMATE OF INCOME FROM COTTON AND COFFEE SALES

Crop sold	G.	I.	Proceeds	G.	I.
				Sh. c.	Sh. c.
Average No. lb. of cotton per grower	480	300	Average proceeds	158 40	99 0
Average No. lb. of coffee per grower	1066	585	Average proceeds	426 40	234 0

TABLE VIII

PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Previous occupation	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	Ganda	Immigrants
Cultivator	21	31
Government	5	1
Industry—European or Asian	7	2
Industry—African	4	—
Domestic	1	3
Army	1	1
Other	5	2
Not stated	—	2
Total	44	42

TABLE IX

OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

NUMBERS WITH OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

Sources of income	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	Ganda	Immigrants
Trade	6	—
Jobbing labour	4	6
Cattle	5	3
Total	15	9

TABLE X

VISITS

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS BY NUMBER OF VISITS THEY HAVE MADE

Visits	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	No.	%
1st visit	28	66·6
2nd visit	9	21·4
3rd visit	1	2·4
4th visit	1	2·4
5th visit	1	2·4
Born in Buganda	2	4·8
Total	42	100·0

TABLE XI

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY STATED FUTURE PLANS

Future plans	Gombolola Mutuba VII	
	Lugala	
	No.	%
To remain	35	83·3
To go back	6	14·3
Plans not stated	1	2·4
Total	42	100·0

TABLE XII

EMPLOYMENT OF IMMIGRANTS

DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS BY NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT ON 1ST AND 2ND VISITS

Employment	Gombolola Mutuba VII
	Lugala
1st Visit	
African employer	13
European or Asian employer ..	14
Kibanja	6
To visit relatives	5
To attend school	2
Total	40
2nd Visit	
African employer	6
European or Asian employer ..	2
Kibanja	4
Total	12

[1] Two foreigners were born in Buganda and are therefore not included in the figures for 1st Visit.

BUDDU. (Villages of Luwoko, Nyangabawekere, Mugaju)

TABLE I

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

Tribe	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Ruanda	18		8		3		29	
Rundi	8		4		2		14	
Ankole	6		13		2		21	
Kiga	5		1		2		8	
Ziba	—		2		—		2	
Zinja	—		—		1		1	
Ha	1		—		—		1	
Subi	—		—		1		1	
Total Foreigners	38	60·3	28	75·7	11	29·7	77	56·2
Ganda	25	39·7	9	24·3	26	70·3	60	43·8
Total	63	100·0	37	100·0	37	100·0	137	100·0

TABLE II

PLACE OF ORIGIN

1. COUNTY OF ORIGIN OF GANDA

County	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Born in the same village ..	10	40	—	—	—	—	10	16·6
Born in same county ..	11	44	8	88·9	12	46·2	31	51·7
Born in other counties ..	4	16	1	11·1	14	53·8	19	31·7
Total	25	100	9	100·0	26	100·0	60	100·0

2. COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF FOREIGNERS

Country	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga bawekere		Mugaju			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Born in other territories ..	26	68·4	14	50·0	6	54·5	46	59·7
Born in Uganda, but outside Buganda	12	31·6	14	50·0	5	45·5	31	40·3
Total	38	100·0	28	100·0	11	100·0	77	100·0

TABLE III

MARRIAGE

Marital status	Gombolola Musale			Total
	Luwoko	Nyanga-bawekere	Mugaju	
No. of married Ganda ..	18	6	21	45
No. of Ganda married to foreign women ..	—	—	3	3
No. of married immigrants	23	19	7	49
No. of immigrants married to Ganda women ..	—	—	2	2

TABLE IV

Education and Literacy

	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
No. who have attended school, whether still literate or not	8	3	4	3	10	2	22	8
Able to read and write	8	1	4	1	14	2	26	4
Reads but cannot write	4	3	—	1	7	5	11	9
Cannot read or write	13	34	5	26	5	4	23	64
Total	25	38	9	28	26	11	60	77

TABLE V

Tenants

1. Customary Tenants

Number of tenants and size of plot	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
No of customary tenants (*kibanja* holders)	16	15	9	20	26	8	51	43
% of customary tenants to total Ganda or immigrant population	64·0	39·5	100	71·4	100	72·7	85·0	55·8
Total area in acres[1]	113	67	67	146	345	105[1]	525[1]	318[1]
Average[1]	7·1	4·5	9·4	7·3	15	15	10·9	7·6

[1] The size of *kibanja* was not given for 3 Ganda and 1 Immigrant in Mugaju. The area in acres and average size in acres for Mugaju and in the total column therefore exclude these 4 *bibanja*.

Figures for acreages were given verbally to the Investigators and no attempt was made during the survey to check by measuring plots. These figures are given merely to indicate the (estimated) difference in acreage between Ganda and foreigners.

TABLE V—*continued*

2. Distribution of Customary Tenants by Number of Years on Plot

Years	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
0–5 years	5	14	7	12	26	8	38	34
6–10 years	1	1	1	3	—	—	2	4
11–20 years	4	—	1	5	—	—	5	5
Over 20 years ..	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Unstated	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—
Total	16	15	9	20	26	8	51	43

TABLE VI

Immigrant Cultivators

Number of Immigrants who are Customary Tenants, Seasonal Tenants or Labourers

Cultivators	Gombolola Musale			Total
	Luwoko	Nyanga-bawekere	Mugaju	
Customary tenants ..	15	20	8	43
Seasonal tenants	—	—	—	—
Labourers	23	8	3	34
Total	38	28	11	77

TABLE VII

Income

Rough Estimate of Income from Cotton and Coffee Sales

Crop sold	G.	I.	Proceeds	G.	I.
				Sh. c.	Sh. c.
Average No. lb. of cotton per grower	640	280	Average proceeds	211 20	92 40
Average No. lb. of coffee per grower	1677	325	Average proceeds	670 80	130 0

TABLE VIII
Previous Occupations

Previous occupation	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
Cultivators	16	35	7	27	1	3	24	65
Government	2	—	1	—	—	—	3	—
Industry—European or Asian	2	1	1	1	—	—	3	2
Industry—African	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	1
Domestic	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
Army	—	—	—	—	25	8	25	8
Other	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Not stated	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Total	25	38	9	28	26	11	60	77

TABLE IX
Other Sources of Income
Numbers with other Sources of Income

Sources of income	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	G.	I.	G.	I.	G.	I.	Ganda	Immig.
Trade	7	—	1	2	—	1	8	3
Jobbing labour	2	10	—	6	2	—	4	16
Cattle	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3
Rents from land	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Total	11	10	1	11	2	1	12	24

TABLE X
Visits
Number of Immigrants by Number of Visits they have made

Visits	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1st visit	17	44·7	21	75·0	10	90·9	48	62·3
2nd visit	5	13·2	5	17·8	—	—	10	13·0
3rd visit	10	26·3	1	3·6	1	9·1	12	15·6
4th visit	4	10·5	—	—	—	—	4	5·2
5th visit	2	5·3	1	3·6	—	—	3	3·9
Total	38	100·0	28	100·0	11	100·0	77	100·0

TABLE XI

Future Plans

Distribution of Immigrants by Stated Future Plans

Future plans	Gombolola Musale						Total	
	Luwoko		Nyanga-bawekere		Mugaju			
	No.	% total immig.	No.	% total immig.	No.	% total immig.	No.	% total immig.
To remain	15	39·5	21	75·0	10	90·9	46	59·7
To go back	15	39·5	2	7·2	1	9·1	18	23·4
Plans not stated ..	8	21·0	5	17·8	—	—	13	16·9
Total	38	100·0	28	100·0	11	100·0	77	100·0

TABLE XII

Employment of Immigrants

Distribution of Immigrants by Nature of Employment on 1st and 2nd Visits

	Gombolola Musale			Total
	Luwoko	Nyanga-bawekere	Mugaju	
1st Visit				
African employer ..	29	15	5	49
European or Asian employer	7	2	1	10
Kibanja	2	10	5	17
To visit relatives.. ..	—	1	—	1
Total	38	28	11	77
2nd Visit				
African employer ..	17	3	—	20
European or Asian employer	3	—	1	4
Kibanja	1	4	—	5
Total	21	7	1	29

APPENDIX D.

TABLES RELATING TO LABOURERS INTERVIEWED DURING VILLAGE SURVEYS

These tables contain an analysis of the results of interviews with immigrant labourers encountered in all the villages surveyed. In some cases they were not residents of these particular villages but merely working there on the days when we visited the homestead in question. The men were therefore interviewed on a basis of chance selection. They do not form a truly random sample.

TABLE I

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY TRIBE

Tribe	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
Ruanda	19	7	4	1	31
Rundi	8	5	10	—	23
Nkole	8	—	17	—	25
Kiga	6	—	3	—	9
Subi	1	—	—	—	1
Ha	1	—	—	—	1
Gishu	—	1	—	—	1
Kedi	—	1	—	—	1
Soga	—	—	—	1	1
Luo	—	—	—	2	2
Hangaza	—	—	2	—	2
Goyi (Congo)	—	—	1	—	1
Total	43	14	37	4	98

TABLE II

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of origin	Buddu		Kyagwe		Busiro		Kyadondo		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Born in other territories	29	67·4	10	71·4	17	45·9	3	75·0	59	60·2
Born in Uganda but outside Buganda ..	14	32·6	4	28·6	20	54·1	1	25·0	39	39·8
Born in Buganda ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	43	100	14	100	37	100	4	100	98	100

TABLE III

MARRIAGE

1. DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY MARITAL STATUS

Marital status	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
Married	15	6	12	1	34
Unmarried	28	8	22	3	61
Not stated	—	—	3	—	3
Total	43	14	37	4	98

2. DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY RESIDENCE OF WIVES

Residence of wives	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
With husband, in Buganda	7	3	1	1	12
At home	8	3	9	—	20
Not stated	—	—	2	—	2
Total	15	6	12	1	34

TABLE IV

EDUCATION AND LITERACY

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY DEGREE OF EDUCATION AND LITERACY

Education and literacy	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
Number who have been to school, whether still literate or not . .	3	6	5	2	16
Able to read and write . .	1	5	3	1	10
Reads, but cannot write	3	5	2	1	11
Unable to read or write	39	4	32	2	77
Total	43	14	37	4	98

TABLE V

EMPLOYMENT

1. DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY PRESENT EMPLOYERS

Employers	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
Ganda	39	13	26	—	78
Nkole	2	—	—	—	2
Kiga	—	—	1	—	1
Ruanda	1	—	—	—	1
Asians	—	—	—	4	4
Jobbing work only ..	1	1	5	—	7
Not stated	—	—	5	—	5
Total	43	14	37	4	98

2. DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF INCOME[1]

Source of income	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
Jobbing work	7	2	10	—	19
Extra work for food ..	28	5	8	—	41
Own plots	8	1	1	—	10
Sale of goods	—	1	1	—	2

[1] In some cases a porter may derive additional income by more than one of the methods listed. In such circumstances, he appears more than once in the table.

3. DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT

Type of employment	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
Cultivation	35	9	27	—	71
Jobbing work	1	1	5	—	7
Looking after cattle ..	1	4	2	—	7
Brickworks	—	—	—	4	4
Not stated	6	—	3	—	9
Total	43	14	37	4	98

TABLE VI

WAGES

DISTRIBUTION OF LABOURERS BY MONTHLY WAGES

Wages per month	Buddu	Kyagwe	Busiro	Kyadondo	Total
Shs. 15 to Shs. 20 ..	10	12	9	—	31
Shs. 21 to Shs. 25 ..	9	1	19	—	29
Shs. 26 to Shs. 30 ..	13	—	1	—	14
Shs. 31 to Shs. 35 ..	8	—	—	—	8
Shs. 36 to Shs. 40 ..	1	—	—	2	3
Over Shs. 40	—	—	—	2	2
Not stated	2	1	8	—	11
Total	43	14	37	4	98

APPENDIX E.

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The surveys carried out for the present report were described in the opening chapter as merely exploratory samples. If further information is needed more extensive research will have to be done on the points already investigated. A number of new inquiries would also deepen our knowledge of the contribution of immigrant labour to the economy of Buganda.

I. THE PRESENT SURVEY COULD BE EXTENDED BY:

(*a*) *random sampling* over a much wider area than the few *gombolola* selected for this inquiry. The present material refers to selected villages only and these are not necessarily typical of the whole of Buganda. In order to get an idea of the numerical incidence of certain phenomena shown to be important from an administrative or theoretical stand-point it would be advisable to sample on a truly random basis. Such a sample could be drawn from the census schedules of 1948 which are analysed at the *gombolola* level already.

Examples of questions which might well be studied more extensively by means of a random sample, either in selected counties or in the whole of Buganda are:

- (i) the proportion of immigrant cultivators settled on their own plots to those working as agricultural labourers—one of the points on which the Institute has been most often asked for information and has only been able to answer in terms of data from the sample villages; deductions by such calculations as those made by the Sofers on the male-female ratios among the Ruanda and Rundi; and comparisons of the 1931 and 1948 census by Fortt;
- (ii) the proportion of second generation immigrants;
- (iii) the number of immigrants who have severed all connections with home;
- (iv) the number of true colonists who are taking up land without working in any industry or plantation in Buganda before settling.

(*b*) *rough counts on additional questions in the next census.* On some of these questions information could usefully be collected over a wider basis by issuing a questionnaire to the local government authorities as was apparently done in the case of the 1938 Labour Commission report. The *saza* and *gombolola* chiefs would presumably have to base their inquiries on their tax registers which are necessarily inaccurate since they do not include old men, women householders or sick persons, but information say, on the number of foreigners in each political unit who are known to have customary plots would certainly give a valuable general picture.

It would presumably also be possible to include a question on a subject of this kind in the next Uganda census. Further quantitative work of this kind would presumably be a Government responsibility.

II. NEW STUDIES.

Subjects which could be usefully tackled by research workers on intensive lines are:—

1. *The amount of hired labour used by Ganda cultivators* on plots of different sizes. Many householders are using outside help during certain seasons of the year only, or for a certain part of the year. Their dependence on foreign labour could be estimated more exactly if they were asked how much labour they had been employing throughout the whole season, say from cotton harvest to cotton harvest. In the present survey they were merely asked how many porters they were employing at the time of the interview. Such an inquiry would involve patient interviewing but some useful results could be obtained.

2. *An estimate of the size of the working unit* of the Ganda peasant family would give valuable information. It was not possible to check the impression the investigators had in the present survey that very few householders were receiving substantial help from their growing sons and daughters. A study of this kind together with information on the output of Ganda families of different sizes, with and without additional labour, would yield useful results even though all such problems of labour costing require patient intensive work under village conditions.

3. *Costing studies of the labour* required in the production of different crops together with their financial returns are also essential if generalisations as to the future of Ganda agriculture are to be made.

4. *Studies of the labour employed in selected plantations.* It has been suggested that immigrants employed on plantations tend to leave their work there either at the end of a contract, or after working for a short time, in order to take up plots in the neighbourhood. Questions on the rate of turn-over of the labour force in different plantations, the average length of stay in such employment, the number of repeated visits from the tribal area to the same kind of work, have not yet been carried out. The degree to which plantations, large or small, use labour resident in the neighbourhood, whether immigrant or indigenous, should also be ascertained.

5. *Studies of the rate of settlement of immigrants of different types* in urban areas and their employment there. The Jinja survey carried out by the Sofers in 1950–51 should produce some such information and further material should become available during the course of a survey of Kampala which the East African Institute of Social Research will shortly carry out.

III. SURVEYS IN OTHER PARTS OF UGANDA.

Information should also be obtained on:

1. *Other tribal areas which export labour.* Mr. John Middleton is at present studying immigration from the Lugbara area. Similar studies on Ankole and some of the Eastern Province tribes would be useful.

2. *Other tribal areas in which settlement* is taking place. The settlement of Alur and others in Bunyoro is a case in point.

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